[redacted] [redacted]

● 431, 796

/For information on the potlatch as a means of gaining prestige and a description of the ceremonies, see category 534./

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that ualy yuxs have mentality, and suggested that it might be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *yuxwinta* in terms far removed from the accounts of ualy yuxs. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of its host, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shining from side to side. If a man fails to receive a *yuxwinta* at puberty, it is because his *yuxwinta* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only tends to cover from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to its thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which attends at the winter solstice to *Nuxnuk-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seem no reasons to doubt that the concept of ualy yuxs is aboriginal belief. Nor does the application of the term *yuxwinta* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient rituals, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the ualy yuxs, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which grows front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient traditions. If this be true, it merely means that in former time the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to aware and influence their lives.

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests of a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *Swaixe* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his sally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Hamatsa* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy chastity

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MSS Bella Coola MSS

child one of his own names, in which case the donor surrenders all claim to it. This designation is the obvious mark of the position of the child in the ancestral family. Without such a formal conferring of an ancestral name an infant would be without status in the community, but, as children are always welcome, some relative is invariably ready to confirm the borrowal by the necessary distribution of goods, a feature that is present in every Bella Coola ceremonial. On such occasions the guests are called by their ancestral names. An effort was made to learn what would happen if the number of children born into an ancestral family exceeded the number of ancestral names embodied in its origin myth, but no answer was forthcoming. Established custom demands that a name be provided for every child, and one is always provided. Without question designations must be invented, usually from some event in the origin myth, but it is always claimed that such were used by a long-deceased ancestor. In fact, the social custom agrees with the requirements of the mythological concept. Since borrowal of names is a matter of pride, it follows that a child often receives several from the ancestral families of which he is a member; the possession of these is a source of gratification to the owner. 559

An ancestral name given to a child is spoken of as an *dsqtsut* name, and the recipient as an *dsqtsut*, which may be translated, "commoner." He may be given several names from one origin myth, or ones from diverse origin myths if his parents are members of different ancestral families. These designations may either be those brought down from above by the first people, those made on this earth by them, or those made at some important event by later persons. Irrespective of what combination of these possibilities a child may have, he is still a commoner, and his ability to rise to the position of *chief* depends on his own, or his parents', ability to give potlatches, as will be described in the next chapter. In such a case his *dsqtsut* name is said to have been elevated to that of a *nuhmq* (chief's) name. [931] [956]

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The ancestral family consists of those whose ancestral names, embodying definite prerogatives, are embodied in a single origin myth.

A stronger limb is easier to understand why names are so carefully maintained within the ancestral family by thinking of them as symbols of prerogatives, but it must be emphasized that the Bella Coola preserve with equal jealousy those designations of which the only prerogative is the marking of this actual membership.

If, then, the ancestral family be regarded as a group possessing a large number of name-prerogatives, it may well be asked how these are distributed among the members. The first point to be emphasized is that the ancestral family is a unit held together without definite social mechanism. There is no accepted "head" of the family, nor are there any clearly formulated laws governing the transmission of the name-prerogatives. Before death a man usually calls together his relatives and "appoints," according to his desire, his personal property in slaves and canoes, and his intangible property in names. Such a designation does not become the property of the two owner unless he is able to validate his ownership by a distribution of presents, meanwhile the name is "dead." If, during this period, some other member of the ancestral family should desire it for a child, or for himself, he can take possession of it by the customary distribution of presents. By doing so he would anger the legatee, but the latter cannot himself use the appellation since it is already in use. Even at the present time there are bitter quarrels over the assumption of names, and such have certainly occurred for many generations. If a man can validate fairly promptly a name willed to him, it is most unusual for anyone else to try to forestall him.

If a man dies intestate, his sons consider themselves his normal heirs, and the most important of these validates for himself as many names as he desires or is able to assume. Disputes are not as common as might be expected since the

No case of sudden death or failure to make a will confusing questions arises.

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tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements.

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and chicken could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. There they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Ałpaxsim* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; so that once a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted to either Bella Coola or Tsi'ts, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola.

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat diverse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *ut'lum*, *stu'ułuł*, *xwmaxa*, which means "Food Supply."

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, these

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moved that was to the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the rights to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Cola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; then one broke, owners were sometimes inferior, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of examining the weirs, was that individuals, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir which were valuable like other personal property. In most cases this right was connected with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. In other cases, the ownership was willed without any mark whatever.[1] Unless unearthed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although an owner often loaned his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, without forfeiting his ownership thereby. This was particularly common when the owner was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it must be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occured, since the Bella Coola is never such a slave to legal privilege that he fails to be guided by common sense.

Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for chicken-nets, the owner is known to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

[1] Many difficulties are encountered in being about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The problem is confusing, and though every effort was made to verify and check the data, there may be further regulations which were not known.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its intangibility. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a connection. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quotes as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

1:McDowall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owning no hunting grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nacquin*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man was in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as [illegible] rules are concerned

1:96:Howells E-5 (1922-1924)[96]
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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption.

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his elder, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment.

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same interest composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable, but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable

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601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of constitutional obligations bound upon specific relationships.

Slaves

564 Since a slave was[a] without status in the Bella Coola community, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the present natives could only harvest vague guesses. Judging from conventional remarks by elderly men, it seems probable that in the old days there was a considerable slave population in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous chiefs were captured. So far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves, and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could own any other type of goods.

Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold. The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon that they were able to exchange dried fish with the members of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category belong those obtained as presents or peltries. If, however, a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

[a] One of the few slaves of the white man's acquaintance in British Columbia was the finding of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

friends, a further cause for their preferential treatment. A Beda Caste who had been ordained and consecrated had to undergo a cleansing ceremony to remove the taint of slavery before he could take part in the ceremonies of the community. It was impossible to learn the details of this rite.

A master had complete power over a slave, unaffected by the force of public opinion, since the effects of a slave, being without relatives, were of no consequence to anyone. Accordingly, the lot of a slave depended on the character of his master, and on his own ability and industry. An industrious slave was valued, such as one would not be rashly or sold except through dire necessity, and in course of years he became, as far as actual treatment was concerned, one of the family. Many masters gave their slaves their[1] dance performances, expending large sums for the purpose. In such a case the slave might become an influential member of the community, though the fact that he was not free was never forgotten. On the other hand, a master had not the slightest compunction about beating a lazy slave, and could kill him if he so desired. None of the present Beda Caste has heard of such a case; it was considered more sensible to sell or give away an unsatisfactory slave. It was accepted as a matter of course that a master should provide his slaves with food and clothing, since anything produced or obtained by one belonged to him. A slave-owner had full rights to his female slaves, and unquestionably exercised them. The only restriction was the jealousy of his own wife, as wives, and the feeling that it was undignified for a free man to demean himself. It was impossible to learn with even approximate accuracy to what extent intercourse took place between masters and slaves. Probably not a great deal, though there was considerable freedom of relations between slave women and the free men of the community, unrestricted by the pride of chieftainship. When a slave had been faithful for a number of years or had become almost a member of the family, his master would try

[1] Read perhaps 2, p. 146 was not with him.

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to arrange his marriage with some female slave; once this had taken place, the actual treatment meted out to him differed only slightly from that shown to a member of the family. In former times it would probably have been difficult for a stranger to tell married slaves from the members of the Bella Coola community until he had been long enough in the country to understand more than appeared on the surface.

Marriages between Bella Coola men and slave women were not infrequent, while like partnerships between slave men and even the daughters of chiefs were not unknown. In such cases the status of the children depended on the performance of ceremonies to wash from them the stain of their slave blood. While the mother was still pregnant her husband would call guests, not only from his own village, but from foreign tribes as well. Presents were given, according to the wealth of the donor, often aided by his immediate family, to "wash the child." Such ceremonies would be repeated several times before birth, and again at that time. Bella Coola sentiment was that such presents gagged the recipients; they knew of the dishonourable ancestry of the child, but the receipt of gifts on his account had wiped away the disgrace. Such a child was able to inherit prerogatives from his mother's old home, duly validated in Bella Coola by valuables, and by his own lavish presents he could silence those who remembered the blot on his ancestry. Similar procedure was carried out if a free woman married a slave. Unless her husband were already owned by one of her family, the woman's father or brother would arrange to purchase him. Then, aided by him, they would give the same type of presents to clear the children from the taint of slavery. If this were not done, the children had only the status of slaves, though, born and brought up in Bella Coola and associating from infancy with their master's children, they were virtually considered members of the family.

"Washing the child," during pregnancy and at birth, sufficed to cover the taint on its ancestry, but in later years if such a person failed to continue to give ceremonies, people would again talk of his slave-marriage. So, too, for the child or grand-

child of a mixed Bella Coola and slave marriage. As long as such as one maintained a position of importance in the community by the distribution of presents, nothing was said, but if he should fail to do so, he could be, and frequently was, insulted by having reference made to his ancestry. In case of dispute or rivalry it was always a temptation to refer to such a title, but if he had stored for it with presents, reference was considered improper. Unquestionably, memory of slave ancestry was forgotten in course of time if the line was influential, although recollections of the origins were always carried for at least two or three generations. At the present time the most influential woman in Bella Coola, the one who has given most presents, is the granddaughter of a Smith Inlet slave. This man had lived in Bella Coola for many years and had married another slave, by whom he had a son. The latter became the husband of an influential *Stuie* woman. When she became pregnant, her family secured the liquation of her husband, and gave many presents to "wash the child." One daughter was born to this couple, the woman just mentioned. Her mother's relatives were influential, and her father was such an expert canoe-maker that he was able to win at least a little position for his daughter by presents of his handicraft. The woman, possessed of considerable ability herself, has been able to give many ceremonies and so reach a position of eminence. No one dares insult her by mentioning her ancestry, but everyone knows about it and if her children should fail to hold their position, they would be open to insult on this score. The woman has validated names and myths derived both from her mother and father, without explaining how the Smith Inlet traditions came to Bella Coola.

The slaves ago, at least the early slaves who practised ~~of~~ ~~ship~~ ~~was~~ in Bella Coola was not particularly onerous, though it depended entirely on the will of their masters. Without status in the community, a slave could have been abused by a cruel owner, though the public life of the village, where all lived and ate together, tended to break down the supernaturally enforced differences of rank.

CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Secret Society—The Potlatch

Consequences

In the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in ancestral myths, which carry with them grand prerogatives. But the supernatural method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, in Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients. In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold potlatches, since his status in the community crystallizes around his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

broader principles of chieftainship. The first essential is to consider the principle of present-giving.

PRESENTS

Consider, for example, a man who wishes to take for himself one of his ancestral names, and at the same time to display certain features of his ancestral myth—a particular type of house, totem-pole, or dance used by one of his forefathers. He invites guests to his house, displays the feature of his myth, and must give a present to each to show the value of his prerogative and to demonstrate that he has not merely casually usurped the function in question. In giving a present of, for instance, $10, it is as if he said to the recipient:

"See! These are the glories of my ancestors of whom *I* am the descendant. *I* have a part in their fame. To make this valid I give you from my wealth a mere trifle, a matter of no consequence to me, who am so firmly established in the path of my ancestors."

The guest receives the money with mixed feelings. On the one hand he has received $10 as a "present." But if he wishes to observe his own position and his own prestige, together with that of his ancestors, it is incumbent on him to repay this sum with interest. Contrary to the practice among some other coastal tribes, there is no fixed rate of interest among the Bella Coola. An ambitious man who seeks to become a chief will strive to the utmost to pay back with heavy interest when he himself gives a ceremony so that his fame will be carried far and near. If he should repay only the principal, he would be regarded as having done all that was obligatory, but should he fail to do even as much, he would soon sink to a position of little consequence, no matter how lofty and distinguished his ancestral name might be.

In this respect there is a parallel between the Bella Coola and ourselves. A man invited to a dinner party is not compelled to return the compliment, but if, in the course of

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used by the age-long power of his ancestor. Finally, in old age a powerful chief is careless where he seats himself; his fame is so great that he can afford to disregard all conventions. [554] [556] [622] [183]

POWER OF CHIEFS

It will be seen from the foregoing that chieftainship among the Bella Coola does not depend on hereditary rank, still less on an elective principle, but on the individual's prestige as displayed, especially in his ability to acquire for himself a firm seat by the giving of presents. As he continues to do so his influence becomes ever greater. Consequently, it is impossible to state clearly what are the powers of a chief; such depend upon his prestige and influence. For a Bella Coola chief has no executive or judicial authority; what deference is shown to him depends on his success as a man, a factor which is constantly rising or falling.

The coming of the white man has enabled the Bella Coola to earn comparatively large sums of money by trapping and fishing. This in turn has enabled nearly everyone to give at least one potlatch, a very different state of affairs from that which prevailed in the last century when it required years of toil for a man to amass the necessary food and skins. Consequently, in many towns there were no men who had given potlatches, so that a man's prestige was estimated by the presents he had given at smaller ceremonies. Sometimes, moreover, a man preferred to increase his fame by giving rites of a different nature, such as *Tsa'iat* dances, and the presents then distributed might elevate him in the eyes of the community, to a position above that of a man who had given a potlatch. This, however, was unusual. [770] [434] [431] [535]

After a fourth potlatch a man is accorded a position of eminence, and is termed a *namáit* chief. *Namáit* is an untranslatable word, with the significance of "passage," an allusion to the amount of goods which have passed through his hands. Jealous and vulgar-minded persons pun on the word, applying [578]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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177 424 551 575 [773] from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 551 575 *Sisaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this chapter.

The Potlatch

* 556 128 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *sisaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

General Observations

104 * 556 ● [431] In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

He is especially rich in caribou-skins, used for fur covering, and goat-skins, so treasured for their wool.* He and his wife have laid up abundant food, and, most important of all, his wife's family is wealthy. Rumours have spread that X will soon give a potlatch and perhaps one or more foreign chiefs has given him a large cone-shaped whistle, such as is used in sacred ritual (see Plate vi). These whistles, called *gone-o*, are often referred to as the "breath" or "voice" of a chief; they are also called *skqtcas*, the "heart" or "mind" of a chief; a third designation is *nalaimats*. X carefully conceals a whistle in one of his boxes. Such a present expresses the kindly feeling existing between those akin to one another in that they have risen to a position of eminence above the common crowd. Its receipt spurs a man to greater efforts to amass the wealth necessary for giving a potlatch by keeping before his eyes the realization of what another has done. A rival chief never gives such a present. X returns each whistle secretly at the time of his potlatch.

Early in the autumn X decides that he has almost enough wealth. To complete the essential amount he will not hesitate to borrow from his friends. It is most unusual to be refused, for it is incumbent on X, unless he wishes to lose the esteem of the community, to repay his borrowings with heavy interest, and when X distributes his goods at his potlatch it will be announced how he has obtained them, and the lender is proclaimed as a person of sufficient wealth to be able to spare some of it. Goods so loaned are termed "bait goods," a reference to the manner in which a man fastens up his cape with a bait before setting to work. The assumption is that X will have to labour to repay his indebtedness. Failure to repay is a serious matter, and the lender would be justified in seizing a canoe or other valuable article as surety for his debt; in fact, feuds are commonly caused by unpaid debts. Men of business

* Formerly, when goat-skin blankets were highly valued, goats were never shot for fear of the blood staining the wool. Instead, they were captured by dogs, and choked to death to remain. For preservation, each skin was laid out on the floor and then cut into longitudinal strips, two, three, or four fingers wide.

to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It is announced that this is, "to make clear the road for the dead."

After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In silence above X takes a copper[1] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[2] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the exact spot the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his sister.[3] It has 'made bare for the dead.'[4] Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[5] My death he removed back on the path of my family's ancestors and destroyed our ancient crest. He now lives in *Waxwell's*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is entirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply nobility, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distribute presents provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests, while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

[1] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly known not only and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. They employ name for the Bella Coola will be described later in a general sense (I, p. 23).

[2] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[3] That is, "For the dead man, sent in form of his sister."

[4] By whatever relative the deceased may have been.

[illegible] 93

an entirely non-commercial, being regarded as "lucky days," and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. They are spoken of as having been stolen off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many small antlers concealed within the hair-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, but usually this is reserved for the following night. Either some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all rejoice.

[illegible]

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(i) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of tools to the guests by successive presents, or by the destruction of valuables.

During the Evening and Night

(ii) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(iii) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the projects.

(iv) Repayments by X of gifts received on previous occasions.

(v) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(vi) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's men.

(vii) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, ones for a number of young men.

(viii) Dancing of the small antlers.

(ix) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have executed the small dances.

(x) Distribution of presents to validate the small dances and the names thereby acquired by the antlers.

[illegible]

example, there is a description of the cross-pole with a ball on the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledglings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb. This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by Jilbai in the beginning of time. Another ancient pole, used by one of the ancestral families of Kyndl, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere, this representing a mountain which every one that ancestral myth is supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of designs. A cross-pole with specific figures is a common possession from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect for the latter to use and validate this on the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Hence the pole erected on a prehistoric mud burrow in association with the ancestral name and myth of the Alpine, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned as instances in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the cross-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the connection was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white men may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a serious enough, though not improper mistake, and it is clear that even when designs are misunderstood as portions of ancestral myths, they can be eliminated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

Right often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

[illegible] ASSOCIATED WITH THE POTLATCH

[illegible] 552*
[illegible] [436]
[illegible] [424]

[illegible] of the deed the [illegible] of its owner. By means of these [illegible] deeds are given from one individual to another without [illegible] legislation to guide, in fact, it is unlikely that the Bella Coola possess sufficient money to meet the sums represented by their coppers.

Personal Prerogatives

The importance of prerogatives in the lives of the Bella Coola has already been noted in many connections. A man's name is his only means his ancestral family has the prerogative of using that distinction; a *hamat'sa* dance can be performed only by an individual with the necessary prerogative; specific [illegible] designs, [illegible] of bird or animal or spouse, [illegible] other objects is a right dependent upon an ancestral prerogative; so is also the area on which a man can hunt or fish. In concept colours all Bella Coola life. One only is a man's memorial life based on this principle, but it is depicted his status as chief, and the economic success of his food supply. Prerogatives, even though it be the prerogative of a man, is elusive until validated by the distribution of property. Much of a man's energy throughout life is expended on the validation and display of his prerogatives; most Bella Coola feuds are caused by the infringement of one individual on another's [illegible].

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[535]
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[431]
[427]
[578]

In addition to the various types already mentioned, there are a number of professional prerogatives on which depend a man's reputation. The oil herald approximates this class, although the Bella Coola consider it rather as a right operative only during ceremonials. Professional prerogatives rest on the belief that a man's ability as a hunter, wood-worker, and so forth does not rest in his innate skill, but upon an inherited right which must be confirmed and validated by the distribution of property. These can be given at any convenient time when the people have been called together, but, as it is to the man's advantage to have his right made known as widely

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[illegible]

[illegible] his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

[illegible]

At the appearance of masked figures representing supernatural beings, whether in small or *barisi* dances, many of the women apparently utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Hanuabada*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *Hanuapetelitaiyo a*, which has reference to the blue-green stone of some shallow shell brought from the sea by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to increase the number of the contributors.

There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incumbent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of time, Iwaiwa of Kivapapi married Tatimaiti, the daughter of a Bulu Bulu chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another as Kivapapi.

[illegible]

quit. Details of this prerogative were not obtainable, but it seems to follow the general type.

[illegible]

All women can pick berries, but in every village there is at least one who has the prerogative of picking the first of every kind. The origin of this right is lost in dim antiquity, but, like all others, each first berry picker has a special professional name embodied in her ancestral myth which must be duly cultivated before she can function. One of these is Dinanemuk-wenda-a, another is Ka'ya. Though normally reserved for women, one of these names is occasionally given to a male child, in which case it is said to have been hermaphroditical. No one would dare to pick berries until the legal picker has paraded up and down the sidewalk carrying on her back her picking basket decorated with a representation of the sun, an act which is believed to ripen the berries.

"Get ready to pick out disturbers [or whatever species is right tomorrow," she keeps calling out.

The berries may then be picked by anyone. This is repeated for every variety. So far as could be learned, there was no social mechanism to punish a woman who picked berries before the announcement of the official picker, although seems to have been so universal that infractions are said to have been unknown though formerly there may have been some penalty of which even the memory has disappeared.

[illegible]

The profession of warrior is another prerogative handed down from the distant past and requiring initiation before it can be used. As with other rights of this type, magical means are in many cases employed to make any young man brave and successful, but there are a number of warriors confirmed as such by the distribution of presents at the time of bestowal or feats of professional valour. At the present time, it is

performance of one of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, above all their highest development in the patriarch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major vice. Persons who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a little to show that he is not churlish and was proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shows whenever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine[1] as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for setting shelters or stakes must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, four canoes, one or all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to take it and take some of the contents. If there are ten fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

[1] This is rather peculiar, being free the introduction of tobacco.

children. They grow up in the open environment of the farmyard, absorbing most of their knowledge by watching and imitating them by avoid instruction. Their care devolves chiefly on the mother, although on occasions the father will be seen arriving with the baby in his arms, while his wife leads another child. Nurses are unknown and the parents take their children with them on excursions. If it is necessary for a mother to be absent on any arduous toil, her child will be entrusted to a grandmother or other elderly relative. There are no evidences between the young people and their parents in law.

The obligation of present-giving does not stop with the marriage ceremony. Whenever given a festive dance or other occasion, B's relatives are expected to contribute. It is felt that the weight of the presentations made during the period of engagement and at the wedding has become too heavy, and they throw this all by lavish giving. No count is kept of the value of gifts bestowed or received, though it is known that the family of the women fare finally in the end. The father of many daughters is regarded as unfortunate individual, who is always poor and overtaxed through the necessity of providing for them. He or they, however, by increase his own prestige, and the Belle Ute have the happy sentiment that such a man manages to go along some way; perhaps necessity causes his activities. Juanita B's relatives contribute to any event carried out in B's father. If, for example, one of his wife's relatives dies, and his friends may wish to contribute towards the funeral expenses. In fact, any ceremonial serves as an excuse for leaving by marriage to demonstrate goods and thus demonstrate publicly their influence, importance, and generosity.

The concept of control by between families who have intermarried is one that lasts a generations. In 1900 there was in Belle Ute an old Utegate man who had left home some forty years earlier and at once lived in South Dakota where he married and had a boy. On the death of his wife, this

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about seventy-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a desirable father-in-law often asks his father's permission to make him a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objection, as she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that such names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X leaves or otherwise abuses her, they appreciate, and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be avenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well covered, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

ceremony, they can part at discretion without anyone being affected.

When a wife runs away and seeks refuge with another man, her husband sometimes tries to kill his rival, but frequently both families endeavour to heal the breach amicably. Some of her relatives, particularly those who played an influential part in the marriage, first ask the husband whether or not he is willing to take her back. If the answer is in the affirmative, they next try to persuade her to return. Every argument is used, in many cases combined with threats against her relatives, and the intermediaries often succeed. But she must never go back without presents, "to do with her the same that has covered the marriage." The husband invites all his fellow-villagers to his house to a ceremony which is said "to uproot the house [of trouble]." The singers are in attendance and sing in succession many *bertié* songs, followed by *wandé* songs, and to each the owner of the song dances, but since the supernatural beings are not present, the affair is of a non-sacred nature. The goods received from the family of the erring wife are distributed and the matter is at an end. Those who persuaded the wife to return are especially rewarded.

If the fugitive wife should refuse to return, or if she should have a child to her lover, reconciliation is not possible. Then it is sometimes on the woman's relatives to return to the husband as much goods as he has expended, with additions if they wish to uphold their own reputation. If the husband is chiefly to blame, or if he is the deserting person, his wife's family are not required to return the gifts they have received. There is no judicial tribunal of any kind, the force of public opinion alone inspiring restitution if the offender wishes to maintain his reputation in the community. Acting on this principle, the relatives of a deserted wife sometimes return to her husband's family the presents they have received, thereby demonstrating their nobility and at the same time shaming the offender.

Formerly there was an elaborate ceremony to dissolve the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

and encampment to funeral ceremonies is usually delayed until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred round dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crowd, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the men who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or steelhead are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become vested with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The ruin on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that [illegible]

[illegible]

The making of the match is allowed to different *balaxia*, usually in accordance with the dancer's wishes, although a mandal normally gives out the actual tasks. The dancer, as one of his objectives, bestows favours on such persons to whom work is allowed. The evening of succeeding is called *ambindam*.

The third day is *gatam*. Those to whom work making has been entrusted assemble early in the dancer's house to start their work. Since now they are provided with a meal, to which other *balaxia* may be invited. By late afternoon, when most of the work has been accomplished, the chips are carefully swept up and burnt, and the house tidied, ready for the musicians who will be invited during the evening. On either the first or the one preceding, a platform, with raised sides, is built behind the fire on which the dancer can conceal himself and where he is supposed to remain during the remainder of the last days. About dusk the *balaxia* are called in; the singers take their places behind the fire, Cymbals, Drumbox, and Sprechers are in one of the back corners, where a matting enclosure may have been constructed for them, and the remainder group themselves without distinction around the walls. In Kimapuri, though not in Bella Coola, one or more of the masks may be displayed, suspended from a sloping pole behind the fire. If the singers think it necessary, they may practise the dancer's two songs once more. Then the musicians are called in, taking their places near the doorway. The singers beat out one of the dancer's songs and he dances in time to it, and the same is repeated for his second song. After some delay, which appears to be one of the requisites of every *haxtsa* performance, the singers strike up the songs of either a novice or a *haxtsa*, especially one who has already had a call during the ceremonial season, and the one thus summoned dances to his two songs. Late in the season, when many *balaxia* have performed, only one song may be used, to prevent the ceremony dragging out to an interminable length, and songs of previous years are omitted. In any case, the ritual here for most of the night. When all have danced, the

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perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *burial* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his invitations to them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *burial* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save them for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *tukuriyaal*. Whenever strangers are present at a *burial* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to commence on *burial* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *burial* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost nightly performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *potlatch* and *tukuriyaal* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation in the village of the surprised herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the defeated herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

[The Dance of Nuxkemim]

any omniscient from their path. The *kukuxtsi* also call *hoip* repeatedly, a further deterrent to the inquisitive. Alder and birch trees are selected and the hewers start to work. When one a tree falls, one of the party calls out:

Ewe

This meaningless ejaculation, spoken as if by X, has the virtue of causing the tree to fall gently. The logs are cut into sections and as many provided as will be needed, since it is contrary to *kusiut* custom for more than one trip to be made for wood. Towards dusk the carriers return, each carrying a burden by means of a tump-line across the forehead. The wood is laid softly on the floor, for it would be a great insult to throw it down roughly. Meanwhile heralds are summoning the *kukuxtsi* with a cry of:

Nuxnuilag kukuxtsi.

X has long since consulted his relatives on the one hand and the marshals on the other, concerning the number of masks to be used, and the beings to be portrayed. A mask of *Kwikwasutinux* is prepared for every *kusiut* dance, but with this exception there is no uniformity in the representations. A man always shows his patron, as well as any beings intimately connected with him. Thus X must have a mask of *Nuskyum*, many of his passengers, and the supernatural beings who meet him at the mouth of the river. A present must be given to the carver of every mask, hence their actual number depends upon the expenditure X and his relatives are willing to make.

At dusk the *kukuxtsi* are summoned by the heralds. X is with the marshals behind the fire and he hands their advice as to the best carpenter for any special mask. When all have assembled X holds up one of the blocks of wood, calls on one of the *kukuxtsi* by name and says:

"For *Nuskyum*," or whatever may be the figure required.

As the carpenter comes forward to take the billet the heralds call out:

"Pay attention to him," and as the carpenter takes the wood, X calls out at the top of his voice, *ewe*.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

This ejaculation is supposed to make the work of manufacture less difficult. The same procedure is repeated with every mask ordered, except that if the being to be represented is a woman, X's ejaculation is *i* ·····. Any *ẖusiut* can make a mask, but the preference is always given to a man who has shown ability in previous tasks. The carpenters endeavour to follow well-recognized designs for many representations, but a great deal of latitude is allowed, and a workman receives greater praise and fame for turning out a fine and distinctive piece of new design, than for rigid adherence to a former type. This, combined with the burning of masks and consequent loss of permanent patterns, is responsible for the variability in Bella Coola forms, and the difficulty which they themselves experience in recognizing portrayed beings.

As soon as all the carpentry has been allotted, the singers strike up one of X's eight songs. Whether or not he dances to them is a matter about which there is a difference of opinion among informants. In any case the re-singing on *nuxiuttălnap* is purely for rehearsal, made necessary by the large number of songs. Later on in the *ẖusiut* season, the songs of other dancers may be practised on this night, and if the owners wish to practice their steps, it is quite proper for them to do so. Finally, a meal is distributed, while the marshals discourse in the usual way. Feasts are features of all *ẖusiut* dances, and the food distributed is regarded as a free-will gift, without thought of repayment. After eating, the *ẖuẖusiut* disperse; X must sleep within his own house, but no longer remains within his platform-enclosure.

The next day, the twenty-sixth of the ceremony, is *qoltkm*. Early in the morning a herald summons to X's house, where the blocks have been left, all those to whom work has been assigned. All morning they carve diligently. The speed with which masks are completed is surprising, although this has undoubtedly increased since the introduction of metal tools. In the middle of the day a few *ẖuẖusiut* men, no women, are invited to share "the carpenters' meal," as the food provided

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

shals tells a herald to call them in; they enter joyfully, though somewhat fearfully, and stand or crouch on either side of the doorway. In Kimsquit they gaze on the masks, wondering what they are. The singers strike up the first of X's songs and he dances, while singers and *kukusiut* men sing the words and the women drone. To the uninitiated it appears most impressive and desirable, while even the prosaic white man can hardly remain indifferent. At intervals a whistle, which the uninitiated believe to be the voice of the call, sounds eerily from beneath the armpit of a reliable *kusiut*. After a short interval, X's second song is sung, and so in succession the eight. Then the singers strike up any well-remembered tune, perhaps one used last year, and the owner dances. This is repeated for eight or ten songs. At later *qotlim*, every *kusiut* who has had a call during the season must dance; the ceremony tends, therefore, to become longer and longer as time goes on, although the singing of the songs of a previous year is omitted. When enough performers have danced, a shaman's song is often sung and the owner dances "to clear the house." At this point the uninitiated spectators are told to withdraw. Then a meal is served to the *sisaok* who, as members of a similar organization, are honoured guests and have been seated together in a corner, resplendent in their weasel-skin ornaments. After their departure, the *kukusiut* eat more leisurely, while one marshal after another advises them as to their conduct. Then presents of comparatively small value are distributed. The marshals would consider it unbecoming for X to provide over-laviahly. The first gifts are to the singers, the next to the makers of the masks. Though these presents are, in essence, pay, they are never thought of in that light; X is under obligations, X has cleared himself of those obligations, is the Bella Coola attitude. When all is over, X once more dances to one of his softly sung songs. Then one of the marshals calls out to open the door and the guests disperse, except the novices who sleep in X's house.

[illegible] (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Cannibal Dance]

X, now almost sane, rushes around the house, shouting *ewe, ewe, ewe*, while his call sounds loudly, as the whistle is pressed firmly beneath his armpit or against his stomach, and under a belt. Often the *hahaiai* slip a rope over his shoulders to prevent him escaping again. Finally, he rushes from the house and all the *hahaiai* crowd close about him on the sidewalk without. As many as possible press upwards against his body with their hands, while they shout, *ye* —, trying to expel the call upwards. On the fourth repetition it is supposed to have been driven forth, and in answer to the tumultuous shout of the *hahaiai*, there is heard the sound of a whistle from above. The uninitiated do NOT know that a *hahaiai* has been dispatched with one to a mountain peak for this purpose.

The *hahaiai* now return to X's house for a meal. The first dish of food is placed before X himself, while one of the marshals addresses him and the audience in the following strain:

Yâmamdjinane, ninimo ka! Âlaxis di pâxatis!
Greetings, comrades! Hail to the dreaded one [the Cannibal]!*
Wai, pâxatis! Nanim. *Nagâlanixis!* dialogue.
More, dreaded one, *Nanim.** Eat to repletion.

There is no ritual significance attached to any particular words; marshals use their own discretion as to what they say, but the above may be considered a fair example of the kind of remarks addressed to a Cannibal at his first meal. After X has started eating, the other *hahaiai* commence and the marshals deliver their usual admonitions, praising X for what he has done and urging others to emulate his example. Then presents are distributed to those who have been bitten. It is considered that a Cannibal compliments a man by taking a piece of his flesh, and that he is under obligations to the one bitten for the latter having allowed him to exercise his prerog-

*Pâxatis means "The Dreaded One" or "The Fearless One." X is so called on account of the uncanny cannibalistic incubus that has taken possession of him.
*This is the vocative form of the word.
*Nanim was the name of the performing Cannibal on the occasion that this speech was recorded.

tion. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In more recent years, it has been customary for a person about to be hirsun to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being hirsun, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Screechers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *Initiates*.* Presents received by those hirsun are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *Initiates*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he is again normal, although special precautions must be taken for the rest of the winter since he is subject to recurring fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *Initiates* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tal'is* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwe*, *xwe*, *xwe*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

*Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the accuracy of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *hetlat* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

plashing around the walls, much to the terror of the uninitiated who cower in their blankets, afraid to join our fun lest they be known. If X should step upon a loose board on any of these rounds of the village, either before or after the expulsion of his cannibalistic mother, he is partially deprived of the power of movement. He can only stand up and down, marking time on the resonant plank, until repeated cries of *hoip* have finally startled him so that he can proceed. Sometimes the stomach of a seal must be shown him before he can leave the spot. Although no one knows why this should so affect Cannibals, a sight of it he rushes forth immediately.

That evening the herald summons the *kakwitsi* and the strangers to X's house. His songs are sung, whereupon X becomes excited and must be cured by the beating of sticks and the four times repeated *hoip* before he can be induced to sit down. Food is then distributed, while a cannibal speaks, and presents are given to the house strangers, provided by X or one of his relatives. Such gifts are often of trifling value but the recipients must never show that they think so.

For the remainder of the ceremonial season X goes to all dances under the guardianship of a number of *kakwitsi*. His apparent wildness and ferocity overawes the uninitiated and helps to convince them of the force of the rites. Sometimes in sheer bravado and with an overweening desire to entertain, X's guardians will cry out that he has become excited; the uninitiated hastily hide and the Cannibal rushes from house to house, ripping off boards and acting as if demented. If friction should arise at some ceremony when only members are present, X often plays a prominent part. For example, in one dance the *kakwitsi* rush around the fire, guided by a rope; sometimes a mischievous man will double it so that the participants are thrown violently against each other. Everyone is excited by the noise of the beating sticks, and the growling of the Cannibals, so that loss of temper is not uncommon. But if X rushes out of the door, the necessity of maintaining his prestige with the uninitiated overrules every other considera-

[The Cannibal Dance]

through the village announcing what has taken place. Meanwhile X, mutilated by the men of blood, rushes from the house, closely guarded by a number of Initiates. Crossing, he enters the lowest house of the village and, to the unanimous shouts of the spectators, it appears as if the torments of his guardians is all that prevents the biting demon from breaking loose among them. This is repeated at every house in the village, and then X returns to that in which galas is taking place, where he is guided to his usual corner and a burlap thrown cold water over him. Any water burlap, often one who is also a shaman, calls on these powers to hear him, and the frenzied orchestra of sticks sounds forth. X remains quiet and more water is thrown over him. This pounding of sticks is four times repeated, and after each more water is thrown over the Cannibal, until at last his composure in all fortune is stilled. Then the Initiates run in confusion and leave. It must be remembered that the uninvited hear the beating of sticks from adjacent houses, and their awe is perhaps increased by the fact that they cannot actually see what is taking place.

This inability to confuse lasts throughout the ceremonial season, effectively suppressing any unfortunate occurrence, and at the same time serving as a bond of union among the Initiate themselves, who must sink individual differences of opinion in face of the absolute necessity of upholding X's prestige. A Cannibal novice can likewise become frenzied at any time during the summer following his initiation.

The Cannibal dance entails a considerable amount of physical and mental effort, while if X hires many individuals, as he likes to do as a means of demonstrating his prerogative, he is forced to expend a considerable amount of goods as "Boxdages." These two factors often deter a man from performing this dance. A Cannibal who has just been initiated as a Initiate at once begins to bite, and is carried away to the upper regions. He is required, moreover, to give his ceremony the following winter, like any other novice. During the summer he generally remains hidden within his house, and when he goes

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Cannibal Dance]

[illegible]

his song, which they now proceed to sing as though they had obtained it from X in his revenge; they have, of course, composed it themselves in advance. The words describe the experiences of X in the regions visited. When the song has been practised, food, and later presents as "bandages" for the wounds, are distributed. Other gifts are often given to everyone, irrespective of whether or not the recipient has been bitten. If medical functions as usual, then the people disperse.

Presently as night falls and the people are preparing for sleep X goes outside with a number of *kukuriat* followers. On the sidewalk the singers, a number of *kukuriat* women, and men with drums have assembled. X begins his high pitched call of *ewe, ewe, ewe*, as if longing for sweet; the whistle sounds at intervals and the singers begin their song with the women joining in. When the melody has ended, the party moves to a position outside another house where the same ceremony is repeated. X suddenly becomes frenzied, rushes madly from place to place, his *ewe, ewe, ewe* resounds, and he dashes into a dwelling, growling ferociously. The musicians pay no attention to his actions, but complete their singing of the same song outside every house. When this has been finished, the *kukuriat* gather in X's home to make him sufficiently heavy so that he can lie down. This is done by calling upon those individuals who have the prerogative of using the crystals at initiation. They come forward and, with wild gyrations, extract them from their stomachs and insert them into X's body through his ears, thus partially deafening him so that he can relax. The people disperse when this has been accomplished. As usual, the heralds have informed those living in the other houses of what has been taking place.

The next morning the *kukuriat* construct a strong platform behind the fire on which X is supposed to rest for the next four days. In practice he can do almost anything he likes, provided that he is not seen by the uninitiated. The crystals pressed into his ears deafen him to small noises, but if he hears people talking loudly together, he at once becomes excited and rushes

forth, followed by a number of *kakaxiat* who remain constantly in attendance on him.

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, on leaves, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *kakaxiat* women present dance monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his assistants awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but that evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the present depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these donations are not returned.

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *kakaxiat* collect chamber-pots and towards noon he is immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.*

Towards dusk all the *kakaxiat* assemble in X's house. He

*The dismissal of the call at this time may not be the correct procedure.

[The Scratch Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

and the hostile camp calling all to be attentive. The chorus for every Scratcher's song consists of the supposedly meaning-less words, 'wi, 'wi, as if a child were crying. It would thus the same refrain is used for Scratch dances by every named scratcher this practice the singers chant forth X's song more loudly, the audience joins in, and he dances. The Scratch dance differs from all other *Dukwiat* ones in that there are no fixed movements, with the exception of keeping time to the beating of sticks with the feet. The dancer sometimes bends down and forward, with arms closely pressed between his legs, or he bends back with arms thrown upwards; to and fro and back and forth he goes with high steps or short mincing ones, with hops or jumps, his arms waving like the arms of a wind-mill. The best Scratch dancer is the one who can put most action and originality into his movements. The weird effect is increased by moving the facial muscles to cause strange grimaces. Four *Dukwiat*, two before and two behind, accompany X. At intervals he becomes excited and seizes his own hair as if to immolate again, whereupon his guardians press the back of his neck and call *hoip* to soothe him. His dance completed, he sits down, and no other performers follow him. The presents provided by X and his relatives are then distributed, those scratched and the song makers being the chief recipients, although everyone receives something. Then there is the usual meal, accompanied by admonitions from the marshals, followed by X dancing once more to his song.

Unlike most *Dukwiat* ceremonials, this does not complete the night's rites. Accompanied by a number of *Dukwiat*, X visits every house in the village, and dances around the fire with wildly waving arms while the whistle sounds eerily. Since the musicians do not beat time, his dance is without rhythmic qualities, otherwise it follows the lack of pattern just described. When he is brought back to his own house, the frenzied beating of sticks is twice repeated to soothe him, and water is thrown over him. Thus pacified, X goes to sleep and the *Dukwiat* quietly disperse.

[illegible]

the house to serve as targets, and stones as ammunition. As soon as the call comes, X rises up, begins to throw stones at these objects, and the uninitiated are at once appalled. X is usually tall, closely guarded, in every house where he visits more curbs, and may break a number of utensils. Since it is well known that, under normal circumstances, he must never throw a stone, the uninitiated are convinced that he must indeed be animated by a strange power. This being [illegible], the Initiated gather in X's house during the evening to learn and practise one, or sometimes two, songs for him. If X is a woman, the theme is of his ancestor and the accident which originated the dance; on later occasions it is of his person and the land above. All Breakers do not have *Ilmalikmaddi Alpenáte* as patron; some have *Ondrilmadi*, a supernatural being who causes wealth to curl up and come to him. The chorus is the same as for Screechers, the meaningless words, 'ari, 'ari. It is said that this same refrain is used by the Breakers of all comical orders, so that their songs can be distinguished from those of Screechers only by the words. With the food, presents are given to accompanist those on whom X has displayed his prerogative, that is, those whose utensils have been broken. Sometimes canoes and other valuable objects are destroyed by Breakers, depending entirely on their desire to exhibit their right.

Next morning, *naturalmente*, X again becomes frenzied and rushes from house to house, destroying property. Of course this is later paid for, but the uninitiated have no idea that arrangements had been made for the boxes and other objects to be placed in suitable spots. During the day a number of *Initiates* are sent to collect wood for nine masks. When members of the society gather in the evening the songs are practised, and the making of the masks allowed. One of these is of *Ilmalikmaddi Alpenáte*, four are of Breakers in the land above,* four of supernatural beings who sing there for the supernatural Breakers, and one of the inevitable *Ankhitan*.

*The relations of these Breakers to the patron is not clear.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[The Ghost Dance]

gation. When the dance has ended, X gives presents; first to each spectator, and then to those who are assisting him, starting with the singers. This is the last scene of the evening and the audience disperses.

The dance of doing things in the seven order appears not only in sections, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble it in many respects. Consequently it is not surprising that the same night is given. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song to X, with the same theme but different words and tune to the already prepared. Meanwhile the *Seducer* are gathering as when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are summoned. No enclosure has been built, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of green rubbed on earth, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of headdress with a triangular projection over his forehead. The two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary polite ritual, *Seducer* after *Seducer* dancing as the singers beat out his two songs. Finally a Cannibal begins to growl fiercely in one of the rear corners and the uninitiated fee hurriedly. The *Seducer* are together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the marshals, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the marshals. If they desire a further display of his insanity, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *Seducer* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

[The Octopus Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

Camilhal begins to growl and soon the *kukwisut* are left alone in the house. The singers beat out a new song for X and the usual continues like that of any other *kusiwanem*. No description is needed for the ceremonial that occurs on *succeeding* and *future* [illegible].

On the evening of *subsequent* the ceremonial are summoned in due course. The exact number of masked figures shown could not be known, but among them is always an octopus. The rite concludes in the usual manner.

The presents given in connection with the Octopus dance are more valuable than those bestowed at most *kusiwa* rituals, accordingly none but wealthy people are able to carry it out. The heralds especially are always beneficiaries.

THE DANCE OF THE DARK-SHADE

One of the most peculiar and irregular of *kusiwa* dances is that performed by a certain *Kalqum*, whom it will be convenient to call X. His patron is the supernatural woman *Sxqunxt-kwsiwi*, Dark-Shade, whose home is beneath the thick evergreens of the river valleys, thus explaining the darkness and shadows found in such places. X's repository is beneath some large cedars near the northern side of the Bella Coola valley, a few hundred yards above the end of the fiord; it is probable that other dancers with the same patron have repositories in other dark and gloomy spots.

When X wishes to dance he must as usual obtain consent from the marshals who insist that he delay his performance until after the solstice at earliest. The reason is because his patron, Dark-Shade, alone of all supernatural beings, has the power to open every repository; X brings her to the village and in consequence calls come to many *kukwisut*,[1] which would be undesirable during the first few weeks of the season. On the evening of the day selected for the beginning of the dance, X steals away from the village with three or four *kukwisut*,

[1] The implication in this case is that calls come from repositories, not from the land above, the customary source.

[illegible]

what they do. With them comes the being *Oxlexiuma*, "The Sleeper," wearing a mask to represent a drowsy man who constantly yawns and rubs his eyes. It is explained that this being delights in sleep and does not care if the sun never rises.

THE DANCE OF THE GREEDY ONE

Nuxuilixuatim, also called *Tatsui-ni*, is a greedy creature who spends his time going from one supernatural being to another in the land above, always begging for food. He is patron for several *kukuxint* and on the *nukuxam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing the Greedy One visits every house in the village asking for food. The uninitiated scorn to the bad-rooms, but the *kukuxint* comply with his request. In consequence the dancer's house is filled with food which is given away to the *kukuxint* guests.

THE DANCE OF THE REPOSITORY MAKER

Some repositories were constructed in the beginning of time by the supernatural being, *Nuxadjiyum*, who is patron for several *kukuxint*. On the *nukuxam* of one of his protégés a figure, masked to represent a male being, appears and *Anu'ilxulaxis* explains that this is the maker of repositories. It is uncertain whether this being is found in Bella Coola or only in Kimsquit.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'s SLAVE

In the land above there lives a slave of *Alquntám* who spends his time providing fuel for the fires in *Nuxalkwaxits*. He is patron for a Bella Coola *kuxixt*, though the details of his dance were not obtained.

THE DANCE OF *Alquntám*'s HERALD

Oqalikt Alquntám is patron for several *kukuxint*. During the *nukuxam* of one of his protégés a masked figure representing him visits every house in the village, bidding the *kukuxint*

with such power that they killed one another in their performances. Consequently, they decided to dance only in the winter months, and merely to imitate the actions which had been previously carried out.

There are other traditions, probably with an historical basis, describing conflicts with the *a'alk*. The Bella Coola say that long, long ago there were not enough *kwicta* names to meet that the old people to be admitted to the society, and that though members were regarded as having supernatural powers, yet the *a'alk*, confident in their numbers and strength, used frequently to assail the supremacy of the *kukwicta*. On one occasion, when the latter had prepared an elaborate feast of smoked goat flesh for themselves, the *a'alk* collected their weapons and demanded a share of the feast. The *kukwicta*, furiously angry, felt compelled to yield, though later they took revenge through the destruction wrought by many Cannibals and Sorcerers who feasted. It is said that even recently if the *kukwicta* did not invite the *a'alk* to one of their dances, they were always careful to placate them by sending half of the food as a present.

Sometimes the *a'alk*, collectively, were held enough to kill a *kwicta*, particularly if something had gone amiss in a dance house. Other motives might be strong enough to outweigh respect for a member of the society. On one occasion a chief, who was not a member of the society, was told that his wife, who was, had been in the habit of prowling off at night with a Cannibal. The jealous husband prepared his best spear and slew the Cannibal when next he entered his house during a frenzied rampage of the village. *Kukwicta*, both from that village and others in the vicinity, combined to cause the murderer's death with the aid of a member of the society who was a professional killer.

Success did not always come to the *kukwicta* in quarrels between members of the two societies. Long ago, the *a'alk* were invited to a *potlatch* in a village in the upper Bella Coola valley. One of their own dances was taking place, but they

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] NEIS

[illegible]

[illegible] of the reputation would not be increased by the manner of his death. He thought the smaller force was the [illegible] and would [illegible] down and [illegible] both the persons within that [illegible] had been killed with striking were deadly. They reached the encampment of friendly [illegible]

The Kitkatla had brought their own singers, who were eager to hear [illegible] Tsibasa to perform a contribution. He was [illegible] several other chiefs, and then the strangers gave presents to influential Bella Coola on the most favourable scale. Paitla likewise performed a similar [illegible] and bestowed gifts on the guests in relation to, until now, of course, not [illegible]. A meal was then served, and after that Tsibasa made a speech of which the gist was that the Bella Coola had previously known his achievements as a warrior, they now knew his subtlety and bravery in risking his life, and that the name Tsibasa could never be forgotten, irrespective of his own fate.

Tsibasa left soon afterwards. It was somewhat difficult fully to comprehend his motive in thus risking his life. Undoubtedly his main object was to display his valour and disregard of danger. Moreover, it gave him an opportunity to impress these qualities upon the Bella Coola, and thus to exhibit his prowess actually within the enemy's camp, which must have been a source of tremendous gratification to him. The alleged motive, regret at killing a chief, may have been a contributory factor.

Although this visit was an intimation from Tsibasa that the Bella Coola need have no further fear of him, the suspicions of centuries could not be immediately allayed. In fact, an occasional skirmish will took place although Tsibasa himself refrained from fighting. A few years after his visit to Bella Coola, *Paitla* prepared to give a potlatch to which he determined to invite the northern chief. Many of the Bella Coola doubted whether the Kitkatla warriors would respect the safe-conduct usually afforded to envoys, and no one was anxious to bear the invitation. At length six chiefs volunteered for the task and set out, though with many misgivings. They stopped en route at Bella Bella where a chief of that tribe, *Omps*, joined the party; he thought that he would have influence with the Kitkatla and might add protection to the Bella Coola. Fearing to be seen by any small Kitkatla bands, the delegation travelled only by night until they could actually reach Tsibasa's village. As they paddled up, they indicated their mission by singing one of *Paitla's* canoe songs. On hearing this, Tsibasa asked one of his Bella Coola slaves whose song it might be, and when he answered that it was one of *Paitla's*, *Tsibasa* despatched a chief, *Kwinas*, to invite the guests to his house. *Omps* was thankful when he saw this man approaching, since he felt that it heralded a friendly welcome. The party was conducted to *Tsibasa's*

[i.e. to the peace negotiations - ANALYST]

to their forefathers. Profound as these material changes have been, those of a psychological nature have been even more important. New worlds have been thrown open to them, stimulating ideas have been brought to their attention, and they have realized for the first time that the world is infinitely larger than they had imagined. Hand in hand with this extension of knowledge has gone disbelief in their own ancient lore. The white man, whose superiority and mechanical skill they admit, positively denies the actuality of their mythology, and laughs at the dramatic performances which were wont to fill the winter with engrossing interest. Such rites can flourish only in an attitude of profound belief: this has been so shaken that the dances continue listlessly, a mere shadow of a once living art. The young people were the first to embrace a scepticism that has rapidly grown into disbelief of the faith of their ancestors, and a half-concealed scorn for their elders, the upholders of the old customs. Worst of all, prohibition of the potlatch has made it impossible for a man to reach a position of social eminence. Moreover, since the holding of any type of ceremonial requires a distribution of gifts, formal gatherings of all kinds have become virtually impossible; even marriages have no longer the social support that formerly made them so lasting.

These cumulative blows would be enough to shake any civilization, and that of the Bella Coola has been entirely unable to adjust itself to the new conditions. The young people, having lost respect for their elders, are deprived of the advice and support essential to the continuity of culture. They ape the white man's dress; they want his mechanical devices, but have failed to assimilate them. For example, a gramophone in a Bella Coola house is an anachronism, while several similar articles spoil the old picture but do not provide a new one. Seeking to copy the new ways thrown open to them, they have achieved the outward show but not the substance, and in so doing have destroyed their own culture. In the old days they were ambitious to hold potlatches and willing to work steadily towards that goal; now, new desires have not kept pace with

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Nuhkuhlimut: Supernatural being seen by *Snaneq'a* to assist *Nuhkuyum*.

ooqa-ut, "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will eventually give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served communally at every feast. [552]

Nuhkuya: *Nuhkuya-shuk* crossed sticks used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

Nuhkuya-tuttlum: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time.

nuhsuuk: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to footmarks to complete term for the four sighs of a *Seeyus* dance. [575]

nuhuhsuuk, "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being superimposed. [425] [553]

nuhuu: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

Nuhumuuyum: Ancestral name of a *Snaw naw*. [252]

nuiq': Portrayed, *adjective*.

nuhumuuyum: Those who perform to assist marriage dancers.

Nyumuhmuhm: *Kwicut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nyumkuna: One of the first men to settle at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time. [585]

nuiqmin, "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and here prior to entering her house. [431]

nuiqnulus: Gifts given in secret, soon after betrothal, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [584]

nuiqulus: Marshal.

Nuiqunu'a: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for *Sxinxeeimuh*.

Nuumuuyum: One of the men who came to earth at Mount *Pootes* in the beginning of time.

Nu'ukkuul: Totem-pole erected by the first settlers at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.

nuukkuul: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

nuhy: *Kwicut* song in fast time. [533]

nuu: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

Nuu'yuuna-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.

nuuhus: *Kwicut* dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

nuukla: Synonym for *Snuwulput*, one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the deceased. [556]

nuulu: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

nuy: Come, *imperative singular*.

Nuyus: 1—One of *Imaanu's* sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at *Nuwulit* in the beginning of time.

nuyut-kuis: Central seat behind the fire.

nuyutjulus: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-nets. [412]

Nuyumutsha: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola. [805]

nuyuutsum: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun.

Nuu'yuuyum, "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

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alpim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

alpim was mana: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

Alpulc: *Lusiut* initiate concealed within the back-room.

Alpualk: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

alpe: Guests at a potlatch.

Alpumxam, "The Sheltrer": Name assumed by *Smaoas* in the beginning of time.

alpxnatmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Alqantam: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Sisaa* repository.

Alqantamaxlx: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhalt* in the beginning of time.

alqualsiyly: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Alqualtalat: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

alq"it: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *Lusiut.* [431]

Alqualimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

alxamaxlxaaxtmay: Professional mourner.

alxamayaiyut: Professional droner at marriages.

alxayama: Professional hunter.

alxayalx: Professional warrior.

Alxkaia: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

alx'ax: Olachen net.

Alxlax: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [601]

alxlt at di qualam: Second oldest sibling.

Alxmas: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

alxtaxmilk: Professional warrior. [463]

alxtaxsaiaxm: Professional river guard.

Alxulqamas: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

alxtuala: Shaman.

alxkiaxstamx: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Undescribed disease said to attack only chiefs.

alxkimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Alxqlxamtamx: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Alxsiwaxm, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Nastyam* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Alxstmte-ais, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaoas's* son in the beginning of time.

Alxt-lomx, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Alxtpas, "The Root-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

alxulsk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

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Anutlɔ: Village near mouth of the Dean River.
Anulɔlɔm: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Anutsyna·xɛl, "Labretted": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Anuxmɛlaix: Name obtained by an *Alɛ́ɛlaxɛl* man in the beginning of time.
Anuyalumut, "Quivering To and Fro": One of *Tlitɛ́xpɛlɛ́xa·'s* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Anuxɛmɛlɔx: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Anuxɛmɔ·x: 1—*Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
2—"Left Hand": *Atsux* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.
[431] [426] *anuyɛ·p':* Term applied to the giving of a copper, indicating that 100 per cent interest is expected in return.
Anuxɛmɛmɛmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
[463] *anuxwixɛlɛm-aix:* *Kuxiut* profession, at Kimsquit only, of throwing masks on the fire.
Anuxwulɛlmɔl, "The Moving House": One of the names of the supreme god's dwelling.
anuyus: 1—Owner of a puppet-patron.
2—Synonym for *xɛlɛ́mɛnɛmɛm,* q.v.
Anuyulhɛlaix: Supernatural being who robs *kukaxtsut* of their thoughts at the Mystery dance.
Aɔ·ɛli: 1—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at *Alɛ́ɛlaxɛl* in the beginning of time.
2—Bella Bella chief.
apɔ: Excreta.
Alɛ́ɛlaxɛl, "The Privy One": Name taken by a chief for himself in virtue of the remarks made about his habits.
Apɔlaix: *Xuxuk* name of a Kimsquit man.
[825] *apɔm:* Herring eggs.
[824] *apɔmɔxɔp:* Cottonwood.
apɔs: Type of sea-going canoe.
[825] *apɔs:* Harlequin duck.
Apɔlɔlyɛtɛmɛxɛm, "The Constant Eater": Term used by hunters to Eagle.
Asɛɔ·ɛ·i, "Concave Town": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
ɛ·ɛ·ɛwɛnɔp: Canoes lashed together.
Ɛ·ɛ·ɛs: Locality on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head, including the area beneath the surface of the water.
[601] *ɛ·ɛ·ɛlɛ·tɛ:* 1—Second oldest sibling.
2—Second part of song.
[775] *ɛ·ɛ·ɛtɛmɛm:* 1—"They Who Have Become Supernatural": Title preferred by ghosts.
2—Woman living in the moon.
Ɛ·ɛ·ɛwɛmɔp: Inhabitants of the village of *Ɛ·ɛ·ɛ°.*
[424] *ɛ·ɛ·ɛmɛmɛlɛx:* Person with good memory commissioned to remember family prerogatives.
Ɛ·ɛ·ɛ°, "At the Head": Village southwest of the head of South Bentinck Arm.
ɛ·ɛ·ɛtɛlɛl: Totem-pole, *literally,* "Outside Post."
[752] *ɛ·ɛ·ɛlɛlɛx:* Shaman with power derived from ghosts.
ɛ·ɛ·ɛlɛ·ɛm: Ceremonial bathing at dawn.
[515] *Ɛ·ɛ·ɛlɛxɛlɛlaix:* *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
Ɛ·ɛ·ɛmɛ·k: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

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mayo or mayaiʔi: Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]

o·m: Coitus, term in common usage.

omis: Nephew or niece. [601]

H

Ahmdzi: Ancestral name of a *Snaiwil* man.

ʻaaiiaiaʻa: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

aaiiaiiaiiʔis: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

Aai-ahkʔis: 1—Bella Bella term; commonly used in Bella Coola, for *nuxit* official
2—*Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Aaiidzi: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.

Hai-ik-kais: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.

Haw-a: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Aaskas: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]

Hamats: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxmalz* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xwiyai* in the beginning of time.

Asli: Penis.

Asiʔi: Call used by members of the *Axaiai* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ibu': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]

ilaia: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.

Iniiyai: Twalaitla's dog.

Ilalmai·i: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.

ilakuntas ilu xuiu: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]

ilalutan, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the beings of a *tsil-Canaikai.* [431]

ilk: One of the *fraitlaxiu.*

imaiiaxaiiyaxaiiaa: Abbreviated rite of *Nootyaxa* dance.

imatsis: Nose.

I'mxaiiaiʔ: Ancient name of a Kimsquit man.

Iminaiiaiais, "The Master": Male supernatural child who famous *Nootyaxa's* craft.

iqaiiaqa, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.

iqaxaiiaiai, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]

iqaiiaxaiiaxaiiaxa: Alleged singing of a *nuxalk* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Mulaxaiis.*

iqa'is-xaiiaa: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]

i'qiu: Mom. [824]

iaxaiiaxaiiaiiaiiaa: Polyandry.

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*192 *tsutsmp*, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *hahaiat* to assemble in a performer's house.
tsuha: House beams.
tsut sta: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.
[752] *tsukkwa*: Message.
[585] *tsukkwuk*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his house on the wedding day.
[431] 2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.
[583] *tsuwaqlut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.
tswaltsta: 1—Battering-ram.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.
Tsulquiam: One of the names of the supreme god.
[201] *tsulsmastum*: Notification, by pressure on the foot, to a chief to go to the meeting-place.
[533] *tsulsnum*: The employment of frenzied stick-beating.
Tsiyi-mun: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.
tsiyiyapimmus, "The Hearing": Synonym for *ainsmun*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.
t-qaimut: *Kwicksun* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.
t-qmaitum: The casting of *hamat'mukka* on the fire.
Tqumuk, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
[847] *tsuut*: Abortion.
t-swetla, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *ts!a'a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

[101] *ulha*: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
ulmaitaxmy: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
[601] *ulmiltsalhaxmus*: Half-brother or half-sister.
umlk: 1—Man.
2—Son; term used by old person in direct address to adult.
3—Husband.
[614] *umlkaxta*: Male relative of same ancestral family.
umlkhwa: Woman who performs man's work.
[601] *umlkpasta*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.
[431] *umumlki, plural, umumlkstsi*: Small boy, especially son; term used in indirect address.
[584] *upiskl*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first announcement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.
[821] *utsinaxsut*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-anthropomorphized.
utsmy: Bella Bella term for the *utsmy*.
[563] *utsmy*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit stock who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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uxuxid, "The Time for *Kusiut* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
q!aqaxsut: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Alqaklaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—Assumed name of a Kimsquit man.
sdaldzid: One of the supernatural carpenters.
sdemenemem: The repurchase of a wife from her husband.
smisl': Synonym for *qsnaljut*, a present for which a return is not expected.
snemenaljut: Hereditary tendency.
spem: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
sxlap: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *lakmit* is problematical.
sxlelkum: One of the first men to settle at *Xemqa'is* in the beginning of time.
sxlelmaxw'stemut-ol-lil': The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to rebuy her as expressing their somewhat boastful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage.
sxw-ahdzwaq'aalsdzis: Sterile supernatural visitation.
sxwlayus: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
sxwlelkmaq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
sxwmaxw-a: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
sxwlwaalaljut: Supernatural aid granted to the unfortunate.
sxwlxmaxwaaqlimas: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tal'io* in the beginning of time.
sxwudwalaxis, "The Track of the Sun": Adult name obtained in the beginning of time.
sxwudzwalaxis: Supernatural name of *sxiaid*.
sxyaxtim, "Commander": 1—Said to be the word from which *Alquntam* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
sxlilkwaxsis, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaaas* in the beginning of time.
sxwaqlaaljut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
sxwa'ai: *Kusiut* name of a *Sisaa* man.
sxwlaxalis: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
sx-wuxsiss: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xemqa'is* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
sxyilyaxsis, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Smaaas* in the beginning of time.
sxyulaxw, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Snalal* and *Tal'io*.

K

kai: 1—Snow.
2—Unidentified berry.
Kaiendzis: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kaimaiit: One of Raven's Crow sisters.
kaiks: Crow.
Kaiselas: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

[821]
[824]
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kătsăn: Tail.
katskitl: Ants. [825]
kax: Black hawthorn. [824]
Kalăn·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.
Kamilkăn: Ancestral name of the wife of *Swaky* who was changed to stone in the beginning of time.
kanki: Region.
Kapsalopst: Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
kasălx: 1—Marriage, properly arranged and legalized. [585]
2—The actual wedding day.
Kaxwlăn·i: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.[1]
kolai: Bark bucket for holding liquids. [415]
kolamkədjut: The seeking of assistance from a man who owns a curing repository. [426]
kolamkusnăm: Investment-present, i.e., one for which a return is expected. [431]
kolusta: Back-room in which *tsisok* initiates and others are concealed.
kolăn: Woman during catamenia.
kolelis, "What Was Sent Down": Intangible possession, such as a myth or a prerogative, inherited from the distant past, usually from the coming to earth of the first settlers in the beginning of time. [424]
komapsta: Wooden tongs such as are used for lifting hot stones. [412]
kolsămkdjot ola kwanăxsta: *Kusiotem* rite in which the performer appears to be drowned.
kul·aix or ***kul·ăil,*** "The Gainer": One who has been initiated as a member of the *kusiut* society but has not yet danced, especially one admitted through unauthorized knowledge or through successful participation in either a *kusiotem* or a Mystery dance. [575]
kulul, "Rendered Incapable of Returning": Said of an uninitiated person who is alleged to have stumbled on a repository.
Kuldcap: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kustcas: The dormant waiting for power by a shaman who, having had one visitation, awaits further manifestations before displaying his ability. [756]
kĭpa, vocative, kĭpaas: Grandmother. [601]
kĭpă·tsum·um·i: Ceremonial marriage of a female child to an adult man.
Kĭ'laiolol: Name given to their canoe by the first settlers at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.
Kilalxemxwu, "The Wise One": One of Raven's names as chief.
Kimilkăn: One of the first women to settle at *Alqalăxl* in the beginning of time.
Kina'o·: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
kinaxw: 1—Crab. [825]
2—Enormous crab-like creature, alleged to be found far in the forest. [824]
Kipdxs: Name of a shaman who received his power from ghosts.
kipl: Red elderberry. [413]
kipla: Wooden tweezers used in the pounding of cedar-bark.
kis: Unidentified plant. [252]
kisăm: To toast dried salmon.
kisianmotla: Supported, in the sense of held in place by physical assistance.
Kisiqoatl: Locality on Dean Channel, west of *Suxwălk.*
Kit·co: Place on south side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

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[1]This name appears to be an entirely different word from *Kalăn·i.*

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kulkāmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

Kulslkākmidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above.

kumai·t: Good-bye. [576]

Kunkunālpstus, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being ***Winwina.***

kusiotem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular ***kusiut*** dances.

kusio·tem: Said to be identical with ***sāsukwalas,*** the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [756]

kusiut: ***plural, kukusiut;*** ***vocative, kusioot;*** ***vocative plural, kukusioot:***
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

Kusiyot: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

kusŧao: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

kusŧiyum: Orphan.

Kwai'hila'yekwa: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Kwa·sila: Smith Inlet.

Kwakwak'la: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

kwa·kwa·s: Merganser. [825]

Kwakwaasnlol: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at ***Stuxx.*** [763]

kwakwa: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

Kwalais: ***Kusiut*** name of a Bella Coola man.

Kwalakmas: ***Kusiut*** name of a Bella Coola man.

Kwala·tsimut: ***Kusiut*** name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

kwal·io·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

kwals: Evergreen bough. [824]

Kwalsānl: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

kwaqwai: One of the sculpins.

Kwasta: ***Kusiut*** name of a Kimsquit man.

Kwat·iwalu, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Kwatlnusila: Man who came to earth near ***Stuxx*** in the beginning of time.

Kwa·tsna: Kimsquit woman.

Kwilais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Kwilnoo: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Kwinoo: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Kwilaxlaix, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Kwsla: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a ***Nuŧsalst*** chief; the word is a synonym for ***Wiktwen·ekwsla.***

Kwllias Nuskampsa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

kwlwalsikān·aix: Lullaby. [533]

kwoi·yaix: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

kwdis: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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*192 *na'ɬlu:* Miniature copper ornament worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.
[301] *Nē·tci:* Bella Bella man living in the beginning of time.
nēxam: To dance.
[825] *nēxamda:* Those who dance at marriages.
nēxnx: Mallard duck.
[824] *nēxmuimm:* Night of potlatch on which *xusēk* initiates appear for a short dance.
nexsiki: Berries of Canadian buffalo berry.
[415] *nēxixekte:* Thimble-like wooden dish.
'nemlēntsix: Ceremonial seating of chiefs according to their validated places in a house.
Nemutsta: Name acquired by a Rivers Inlet man from sea-lions in the beginning of time.
Nemulste: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
'Nēx·utsn·a: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Scratcher; the designation was derived from Rivers Inlet.
Ne·sle·s: Celebrated Kitkatla chief.
Ne·xumkai: Influential Bella Coola chief.
*[776] *Nekɬullēkaix,* "The Resident": Supernatural being dwelling under rivers who punishes infractions of taboos concerning them.
[784] *nēkusam:* 1—Fourth day of a *kusiut* dance, on the evening of which masked figures appear.
2—Something exposed to view.
Nepepa: Old woman resident in Sea-lion's house in the beginning of time.
nenē, "Little Dance": Term of grandiose humility.
nexnēxam: Gathering of the people for a non-sacred dance after the *kusiut* season.
Nexnēx·mēlsaix: 1—"The Dancer Near the Fire": One of *Tlitcɬplilan·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
2— *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nexnexliwalaix: Kusiut name of a *Nuxɬalst* man.
niamlemtam: One who has preserved a marriage song.
niaxwēlemsk: The intangible strengthening that comes to a bridegroom as a result of the oration of his ancestral myths and the giving of presents to the bride's relatives when they first come to his house on the wedding day.
[585] [431] [524] *Nilɬullāix:* Daughter of the first people who came down to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.
nisq'estl: Wooden ring used in a game.
Niktcks: Place on Dean Channel, about three miles from the head, where the deer formed a colony soon after the beginning of time.
[825] *nikyaya':* Otter.
Ninilānk: Name of a certain spot where mountain goats are wont to congregate for mating.
Ninitsamlaix: 1—"The Restorer": One of *Tlitcɬplilan·a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—One of the first men to settle in the upper Bella Coola valley in the beginning of time.
[556] *nitsam,* "Brought to Life": Term applied to a copper brought back from a cemetery and renamed.
Nitsmdimut: Shaman's name derived from *Tlitcɬplilan·a.*
nitstominu: "I have saved you."

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Nuɬaɬuxtam: An influential Kwakiutl chief.
Nuɬsico: Bella Coola pronunciation of a Carrier village; the Anglicized form is Ulkatcho.
nuɬaxm: To lose something through faulty concealment; the term is used to describe a *ɬuɬiut* who is alleged to have suffered loss through the discovery of his repository by an uninitiated person.
nuɬolumɬk': Grease extracted from sockeye salmon heads.
Nuɬiadji: Ancestral name of a *Ɬnax* chief; the designation is of Kwakiutl origin.
nuɬila·xta: 1—Spider.
2—Place on the east side of South Bentinck Arm where cures are effected; the power is derived from a spider petrified there.
Nuɬili, "Place of the Whirlpool": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
Nuɬoɬwixodjax, "The One Whose Seat is Dusty": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
Nuliɬqumuɬ di mɬk', "The Rolling Down of Excrement": Dog's name.
Nuɬɬlnmtmam: 1—Supernatural being who leaves his home at the time of *Nuɬkmm*'s departure to warn *kukuɬiut* to tidy their houses for the ceremonial season.
2—To tidy the houses preparatory to the ceremonial season.
Nuɬɬuɬuɬk, "The One Whose Eyes Are Hungry": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
nuɬɬxm: Presents given by a chief to his fellow-villagers prior to a potlatch.
Nuɬiliqɬɬnk, "Place of Many Boulders": Ancient village on the Kwatna River.
Nuɬixwmaɬkta: One of the first women to settle at *Tɬɬ-io* in the beginning of time.
nuɬmɬmɬɬkdɬs: Fastenings, especially those of plumage or skins worn by the first settlers when coming down to earth in the beginning of time.
Nuɬkɬɬl: Poverty-stricken chief mentioned in a song.
nuɬɬmɬkdɬs: Bonds used to fasten a Cannibal; the word is etymologically connected with *nuɬmɬmɬkdɬs.*
nuɬmɬstmax: Succession, as applied to the assumption of a marshal's prerogative by a son or other relative.
nuɬodstnik-ɬsta, "Forehead Thing": Small mask worn on a *nɬaɬk* head-dress.
nuɬq: Landslide, such as is caused by *Twalɬlit* or *nɬiuɬ.*
Nuɬqunlaix: Name given to their sister by the first settlers at *Nutɬqmɬk* in the beginning of time.
nuɬɬunta, "To Have Become Nothing For": Said of a poultice which is thrown away after serving its purpose.
nuɬɬutta: House-posts nearest to front door.
nuɬnɬkta: Posts extending from this world to the land above down which swarmed some of the first settlers in the beginning of time.
nuɬɬmɬmɬtmm, "Belt Goods": Goods borrowed during a potlatch by a donor who finds himself deficient. The implication is that he will have to fasten up his clothing and work industriously to repay his indebtedness with heavy interest.
nuɬxodjim: Cry uttered by a *nɬaɬk* official to free a house from the intangible influence of the supernatural after the initiation of *nɬaɬk* novices.
nuɬxinqaɬɬn: The alleged entrance of a supernatural being into a *nɬaɬk* novice.
nuɬxwɬɬkɬl: Semi-subterranean house with two levels for seats.
numɬkɬl: Semi-subterranean house with a single level for seats.
Numɬm-·c, "Place of Flies": Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one mile from its head.

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Nuxnánnqkt: Area around a spring near *Nulimx*.
nuxnústa: Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nuxnústa: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxpúnuta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxpuxte Smoiaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smoiaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nuxqáps: Skeena River.
Nuxqáqst, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nuxqúlt-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nuxqúlt, "Place of *Sqúlt*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nuxqut: *tsúmy* village.
nuxqúlut: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
[824] *nuxqúlhutxa:* Person fastened to the ground with roots.
nuxqu: Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
[431] *nux'qodjunuxta:* Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
Nuxqulxwústa: House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
[825] *nuxqwal:* 1—One of the *a'alt* dances.
2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Xmoyxwa's* house.
nuxqwalxi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nuxqwalxwústa: Variant of *Nuxqulxwústa*.
Nuxqwalxwúsmikt Nuákymm: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nuákymm's* canoe.
[198] *Nuxqwalxix*, "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nuxqwathústa, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qwath'usta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxqwaxlíw-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuxs*.
[825] *Nuxq'''ix:* Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
nuxqwkut: The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nuxqut: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nuxqwtexnústa*, "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nuxhlíta:* Locality near *Stuxs*.
[556] *nuxkxemáta*, "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nusuk* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nuxkxemúxta*, "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nusuk* dancer.
Nuxlíwy: Herald of *Smoiaix* in the beginning of time.
Nuxlhmnúmmsta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxlxúmyx: Carpenter.
nuxlxqwúmat-a: Smear of red paint.

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Nuxwin·amx, "The Warrior": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.
nuxwināsta: Women's verbal quarrels about prestige.
Nuxx: 1—Barren district above Green Bay.
2—Evil, *adjective*.
Nuxʟalɣiq: *Tāl·le* bird hunter.
Nuxʟemda: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tāl·le* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alɣalaxl* in the beginning of time.
3—Ball of the universe which, when broken, released the sun. [772]
Nuxʟemtaiān·a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Alɣalaxl* in the beginning of time.
Nuxxeq: 1—(Probably) "The Place of Barrenness": Village at Green Bay.
2—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
nuxxi'ipsta: Repository, archaic term.
nuxxwan·ā·nutsnam: The assumption of a name upon earth. [431]
nuxwahmpsta, "Things to Sweep the Floor With": Presents given to a bride's relatives by a groom and his kinsmen on the actual day of marriage. [585]
nuxwa·ista: Wooden dish used for washing an infant.
nuxwilamtam: Abstinence from acts of an unclean nature after the taking of a powerful medicine. [415] [785]
nuiaikim: The power which a shaman brings forth from his own body and casts into a patient. [756]
Nuiaoaxw': Name of a celebrated shaman.
Nukam: Bella Bella village and undefined area in the vicinity.
Nulal, "Canyon": 1—Dean River.
2—Village on the lower Dean River.
nuiaxgmm: Alteration of a dance from *sisaok* to *kusiut*. [825]
nulkalxita: Bone in the back of a salmon's neck.
nulialalumtmm, "A Drying-Up with Fire": Expression used for the ceremony held on the return of a deserting wife to her husband. [586]
nulialalsmam: Goods given by a wife's relatives to her husband to validate her return to him after desertion. [431]
Nulkax, "Place Where There Are No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Nulhodel: Totem-pole of the first settlers at *Nuxʟalit* in the beginning of time. [845]
nulhunult: Parents of twins. [825]
nulsaqwax: Wolf.
Nulsātlmais: Mythical house in the sky.
Nulsaqmāls: One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nulsiahem: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitcaplilan·a* to a shaman. The word may be etymologically connected with *nulaikim*. [756]
nulsiaxgmam: A creation of new *kusiut* names, such as is necessitated by a disaster, or at the will of a mighty chief. [553]
nulsixāxlm: Kusiutem rite in which the performer pretends to swallow hot stones.
nulsiaxwam: 1—"A Throwing Off": Term used with reference to presents given to heralds by a person splashed in Otter dance. [431]
2—Presents given by guests at a potlatch to their host and his associates.
nulqasa, "The Face Maker": Name given to a woman who paints upon the bandages used to produce cranial deformation in an infant. [856]
Nutsqualt, "Place of Many Spawning Sockeye Salmon": Kimsquit village.
Nulwimax: Kusiut name of a *Tcumoit* man.

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otsulta: Promontory on hunting ground extending into ocean.
Owlxan·i: Kimsquit fisherman.
Owiki: Calvert Island.
Oxdoxem: Synonym for *Xemxemälotla*, one of the nine supernatural siblings.

P

[415] *ṗai·s:* Small wooden dish.
Ṗaluatl: Legless messenger of the dead.
Ṗa·s: Place on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
[585] *ṗäsutum:* Synonym for *nuṗäxsikil·um:* Payments made by the wife's relatives to
[431] those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day.
They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.
Ṗaxcäxcus: Ancestral name of a *Nuxdalst* man.
[412] *ṗätsalta:* Bone needle.
ṗäxotla: Anything powerful and dreaded; the word is frequently applied, rhetorically, to Cannibals.
Pe·xsla: Small stream rising north of the Bella Coola valley and east of the Necleetsconnay; it flows into the head of South Bentinck Arm between the Necleetsconnay and the Bella Coola.
Piqotla: Bella Coola man figuring in a story.
pilsil: Herring scales.
pinäxta: Dance-apron.
Pinxkla: One of the first men to settle at *Snaiali* in the beginning of time.
[825] *pkm·:* Mosquito.
Ponpoilotsdimut: Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
po·qwais: Variety of *smnq.*
Potlas: Celebrated Bella Coola chief who died about 1880.
Po·isla: Mesatche Nose, the point between Labouchere Channel and North Bentinck Arm.
[824] *potsqi:* False hellebore.
[411] *poistin:* Bow, weapon.
poyäx, "Fallen Heavily with a Crash," as when a dead tree thunders to earth: The
[195] term is used rhetorically when referring to the death of an old and influential chief.
[372] *psaixl:* Tree, probably birch, used for torches.
pskun: Meeting of chiefs.
[825] *pwi:* Halibut.
px': Crabapple.
[824] *pxolt:* Bunchberry.

Q

[525] *Qa'äklis:* Rivers Inlet man, living in the last century.
qai: King stick in a gambling game.
qainaxqwalitl: Women's droning cry uttered at the appearance of a masked dancer.
qai·nuqs: Uncommon term for the second day of a *kusiut* dance, applied to the rites taking place during the day itself only.
Qaiyu: Name conferred on the grandson of *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.
Qak'lis: Man mentioned in a story.
Qakmo: 1—One of the first women to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
2—Celebrated Bella Bella chief.

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qalibw: Omen of death, generic term.
qalka: One of the berries, probably raspberry. [787]
qama, vocativ, qamae: Mother, term used by child.
Qamalxrm: Celebrated Carrier chief. [824]
Qamox: 1—Village on west bank of the Necleetseonnay, about three-quarters of a mile from the sea. [601]
2—Mountain behind the village.
Qamspestämem: am'hl'a name of a Kimaquit man.
qamxämila, vocativ, qamxämilae: 1—Term used for spring salmon during the ritual following the first taking of the fish. [825]
2—Term used by *imnq* to human beings, who are like salmon to them.
3—Salmon, in the language of supernatural beings. [198]
qanxta, "Rope Fastenings," i.e., something binding: The function of the "Bed Covering" and other presents given with a wife which bind her to her husband. [585]
qaolaks: Unidentified species of duck. [431]
Qaominoaka: Kwakiutl term for "The Weeper," a female supernatural being.
Qapätus: Kusiut name of a *Stuxt* man. [825]
Qa·pxaok: ıstämx chief living soon after the beginning of time.
Qaqa^{a}li: Herald who came with the first settlers to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
Qäqos: Carrier pronunciation of *Tcaqas,* one of the first men to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
qälaxm: Kusiut with ability to produce a puppet-patron, cf. *nunuyaxmm.*
qätitsta: Sweat-bath. [515]
Qälsmu: Slave mentioned in an ancient story.
qätsy': Star-fish. [825]
qäx: Rabbit.
qē·χ: Salmon-berry. [824]
Qaxlawalı: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
qäxmäts: Unidentified plant.
qahm: Black cod. [825]
qam, "A Wiping of the Feet upon the Ground of Chiefs": Term applied to a deadly insult offered to persons of importance. [578]
qamıs: Wooden armour.
Qankhst: 1—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm. [714]
2—Island off Rivers Inlet.
3—Island.
Qax·ıxwsila: One of the names of Raven as chief.
Qıil: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Sıskiut* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuxt* in the beginning of time.
qe·ko: Unidentified migratory bird, black in colour. [825]
Qıldjut: Scratch River, near Bella Bella.
qi'aqa: One of the *a'alk* dances.
Qiqia, "Head": *Stuxt* repository named from part of a supernatural creature. [578]
qıskalpälwslaixynam: A verbal exposure of what should have remained concealed, such as comments upon the slave ancestry of a person whose blot in this respect has been covered over by lavish giving. [431]
qkslulitsta: Presents distributed by a wife to strengthen her husband's seat, and thus prevent him from "wobbling." [556]

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q̓ax̌ta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

ɬ̓ɬ̓amdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431] [195]

ɬ̓pānliktmm: To revolve sunwise.

Ɬ̓pānpānliktmmlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlūcaplilān-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ɬ̓ɬ̓ajulxs: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Ɬ̓sxwan: Village on the Skeena River.

ɬ̓aisutl: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

q̓ubetl: Salmon liver.

ɬ̓uks: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

q̓ulwas, vocative, q̓ulwais: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

q̓ulxwaix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

q̓uma: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Ɬ̓unqwamm ul di dā Sqem, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

ɬ̓upstānxm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

ɬ̓uputsālxts: Stone axe.

ɬ̓us: Period of engagement. [412]

Ɬ̓wahila: Ɬ̓mq̓·ts man.

Ɬ̓wai·lils: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ɬ̓waiutxamlaix: Stuix man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ɬ̓waixostn-i: Shaman's name of a *Stuix* woman.

Ɬ̓waixwas, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

q̓walts: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

ɬ̓walxm, vocative, ɬ̓walxm; plural, ālɬ̓walām: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Ɬ̓wa'lxms: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

q̓walilk: Gull. [825]

ɬ̓wal'ma"khs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Ɬ̓walxwalelim, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tāl·io* in the beginning of time.

Ɬ̓walxa: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]

Ɬ̓wamaxa'ks: Chief living on the upper *Tsawat* in the beginning of time.

q̓wanā·xsta: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Ɬ̓waqa: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Ɬ̓waqmai: Place on Schooner Pass.

Ɬ̓waqwasila: Sisaok name of a Bella Coola man.

ɬ̓watlxalxam: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial.* [211]

ɬ̓watlxuxum: Figure representing crest.

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[825]

ɣwalhnsta: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɣwalhnta; vocative, ɣwalhntse, (rarely, *ɣwalhnta*): Crest.

ɣwax: Raven.

ɣwax: Big old male mountain goat.

Ɣwaxila: Ɣemɣe·ts man living in the last century.

Ɣwaɣlialis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Ɣwaɣwax·nemm: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601]

Ɣwaxwats: One of the first men to settle at *Stuɣ* in the beginning of time.

ɣwaxwem: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɣwa'yuhks: Steller's jay.

Ɣwakst: Kimsquit woman.

[825]

ɣwana: Woman's pubic hair.

ɣwats: Sea-lion cub.

[431]

ɣwem: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Ɣwets: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

ɣwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825]

ɣwilais: Yearling seal.

ɣwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Ɣwinas: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ɣwiɣwaxaxwa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Älɣuntam.*

Ɣwixlɔkilak": *Nuɣmal* name of a Kimsquit man.

Ɣwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Ɣwul: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Ɣwlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Ɣwlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Ɣwliutl, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɣwnts: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583]

Ɣwoxalt: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɣwoxhandjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854]

Ɣwɣusditxas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

ɣwtutl: Cradle.

Ɣwu'nɔk': Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.

Ɣwu·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581]

ɣ"xlin: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195]

ɣwaxim: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sem: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis ɬäläs: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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Saiut: Thunder, anthropomorphized. [192*]
Saiyaus: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [821]
saläiyi: Historical account; the term does not include ancestral myths or other personal property. [173]
sa·lkaitumm: 1—Food distributed by the donor of a *kusiut* dance; the term is also applied to presents given instead of food. [431]
2—Food stored up for this purpose, or even for a meal.
sa·lpaiut: Cannibalistic incubus. [257]
sa·lpaitum: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day. [585]
salälxaidimut: Profession of *kusiut* executioner. [431]
salaxwaläs: Object obtained by a shaman from a supernatural being and displayed by him. [463]
sämi: Sockeye salmon. [825]
Sänaiyamulelts Älquntäm: One of the sons of the supreme god.
Sanaxnsnumlaix: Supernatural being who has the prerogative of scratching in the land above.
Sanaxläm or *Sänutlxamdimut:* One of the names of Mount *Nusqalst* as chief.
Sanaxmäxots, "The Light Bringer": 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—Ancestral name of a *Stuxʷ* man.
3—A celebrated Bella Coola hunter and chief.
sätx; ***vocative, sätäi; vocative plural, sätaxwa·ks:*** Comrade, especially one engaged in an enterprise with the speaker.
sa·tla: Spoon-shaped river canoe.
Sätlia: Village at point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
Sätlyenuts: River flowing into the middle Bella Coola from the north.
Sa·tma: Death, anthropomorphized. [761]
sätsäts: Whetstone, *archaic.* [412]
Sa·tsi': 1—Kimsquit River. [101]
2—Village near the mouth of the river.
Sa·tsumg: Inhabitants of the Kimsquit River valley.
satstsul·a: Raft.
Sa·tsmnän·i: Shaman's name acquired from Death.
sawa: Pillow. [573]
sawadjst, "Pillowness": *Kusiut* ceremonial at which no call is present.
saxi, vocative, saxinas: Brother or sister younger than speaker, especially the youngest of a family. [601]
Saxinas: Proper name of a youngest brother mentioned in an ancient story. [824]
säxlum: Bracken. [823]
säxwänas: Tide flats.
sakdjult: Heart.
Sa'waksam: That part of *Songʷ* which did not fall in the crash at the beginning of time.
Samkad: Village on Rivers Inlet.
Samsiälän·i: Part of a peculiar repository.
sanmaikdimut, "Like Salmon": The so-called "Winter Salmon," probably steelhead salmon, obtained by Raven in the beginning of time.
sa'nstas, "Resting Place": Limit of the sun's course. The word for December is connected with this. [805]
sankwsäm: Leader of musicians. [821]

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmān·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilāxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siāhamkuk:* River net for salmon.
Setsalānt: Echo.
Sexsexqālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitqāplilān·a*'s names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siālxelāx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Lomqo·ts* man.
Siaqam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidāgsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidakaos di Āno°likwolsaix,* "The Coming of *Āno°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sietla: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Sl'ishilil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Sl'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiuk:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'ixikum,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sium,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Siusaml,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikalamuk, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikulq,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlelax: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Sikxum: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
Silias: Celebrated composer.
[226] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxqme'ax: Sisaok head-dress.
[827] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[761] *si·nipodjoxstmax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpicus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[805] *Sinomuk,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
[726] *Sinulkemil,* "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukalilum: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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sîya: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sk̓nnaa:* Fog.
825 *sk̓a':* Pack-rat.
[828] *sk̓ɬan:* Mind or mentality.
sk̓ɬan: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sk̓ɬatlɬtlwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sdlslān·i: One of the first women to settle at *Sa̱tlis* in the beginning of time.
smd: Mountain.
[825] *smlk* or *smlkɬs:* Salmon, generic form.
smɬamnikɬas: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Sumsiutaakɬs: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *smsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Sumtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Sunk'lusam:* Bella Coola chief.
[828] *Sunɬominit:* Darkness, anthropomorphized.
snɬmɬs: Anger.
snx: Sun.
Sunxākila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
Sunxālotla: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Sunxan·a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *snxkt:* Mucus.
Sunxl, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sqwlaiak: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *ssaok:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
ssiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Ssunxakila: Shaman's name of a *Sunxl* woman.
sskiak': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitsaplān·a* to the one favoured.
[601] *sskum:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *ssmmɬa:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *ssqo·si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
585 *ssqxak':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *sisxwaxwalelp:* Snowberry.
sxxɬaiinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *sxxmmsta,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sel'alam,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skalk': Porcupine.
[824] *skal'ats:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skalutslaix:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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shalk': Devil's-club.
shālnāmxdits: To lament ceremonially, the term used to describe the reason for a memorial potlatch. [824] [765]
Shāmł, "Ashes": Ancestral name created for a *Snuhli* chief about 1910.
shāmtsk: Supernatural creature dwelling in water.
shay: Anus. [824]
shānm: Splinters projecting upwards from the bole of a broken tree-trunk.
Shamolsgmān-a: One of the first women to settle at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.
Shatpts: Chief of the spring salmon.
shatsāmhm: Narrow strips of goat skin with wool attached, distributed at marriage. [585] [825]
shelists: Merganser.
shelwadjut, "The Opening": Ceremony when the first public presents are given to the family of a future wife, following the announcement of betrothal. [584] [431]
shi: To cure, especially with the aid of a frenzied beating of sticks.
Shimutcitl: *Smax* man mentioned in an ancient story.
shimp, "Cure Ye!": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the upper Bella Coola valley.
shimwas: Cloud. [825]
shma: Thick hide, either of moose or caribou. [412]
shma: Semi-circular knife used by women for cutting salmon.
shmaix, shmaml, or *shmdjut*: 1—Frenzied beating of sticks for curing purposes, especially when the patient is a member of a secret society. [755]
2—Final *kusiut* rite at end of the ceremonial season.
shmim: To cure by means of the frenzied pounding of sticks.
Shmł, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log": *a'alk* name obtained in the beginning of time.
Shmoinl: House used by a group of first settlers near *Smax* in the beginning of time.
Shmoulāw-a: Daughter of the first settlers at *Nuqulst* in the beginning of time. [824]
shs'tcalx: Fungus. [415]
shtsmoinxta: 1—Box made of strands of cedar-bark.
2—Ancient name of *nsaok* head-dress.
shxy: Ceremonial designs executed on the exterior front wall of a house.
shxkł': Rose.
Shxlikwaw-a: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man. [825]
shxil: Wasp. [727]
Shxlsemmaxta: Rock on shore of North Bentinck Arm where war trophies were washed.
Shyaiłuł: Name of house brought down by first settlers at *Slxkiut* in the beginning of time; the term was also applied by them to one of their female relatives. [601]
shxi, socatiu, shxai: Parent-in-law or child-in-law.
shxlay: Suitable place in the river for setting olachen nets.
shxlx: Game played with throwing stones.
shxsiut: Synonym for *yaxmax*, the tangible or intangible prerogative possessed by some *kukusiut* in addition to a dance rite. [424] [825]
shxw-alxis: River sculpin.

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Sxaqʷ-g': Affluent of the middle Bella Coola.
Sxaqwala: Kimsquit woman mentioned in an ancient story.
Sxaqwmɔ́ɔls: 1—Copper Raven that perched on house of first settlers at *Alq̓álxel* in the beginning of time.
2—Name given to the Raven design used by the first settlers at *Snax* in the beginning of time.
sxasaiks: Skeleton. The word is obviously a derivative of *saiks.*
Sxaxlɔ́ɔls: 1—"The Wise One": One of the more important supernatural beings.
2—Ancestral name of a *Tsimsot* man.
Sxaxmɔ́ɔls: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alq̓álxel*, probably a supernatural designation.
Sxaxmɔ́ɔlxaʼ: Name of salmon mentioned in origin myth of *Alq̓álxel*, probably a supernatural designation.
[374] *Sxɔɔ́ɔlɔɔ́ɔls*, Cold: A supernatural being.
Sxɔɔ́ɔlxaxsɔɔ́ɔl, "The Mystery of *Alq̓ɔ́ɔlɔ́ɔm*": The place where the supreme god puts what he wishes to conceal, such as the correct solution of the Mystery dance. The concept is semi-anthropomorphized.
sxɔɔ́ɔp: Generic name for several supernatural animals.
sxɔɔ́ɔpɔɔ́ɔjɔ́ɔ-a: Right front corner of a house on entering.
Sxɔɔ́ɔri: Pronunciation of *Sxɔɔ́ɔlɔ́ɔ* by a man with idiosyncratic *r* usage.
Sxɔɔ́ɔlɔ́ɔ, "Place of Dog Salmon": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
[765] *sxɔɔ́ɔlɔ́ɔlxɔɔ́ɔ*, "A Shaving Up": Term used to describe the functions of mourning songs.
Sxɔɔ́ɔlɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔls, "Box": 1—One of the first women to settle on the upper Dean in the beginning of time.
2—Box in *Xɔɔ́ɔqɔɔ́ɔs*'s house.
3—Name of a *Tɔ́ɔlxɔ* man derived from the last.
Sxɔɔ́ɔlxɔ́ɔl, "Place of No Falls": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
Sxɔɔ́ɔlxɔ́ɔy: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sxɔɔ́ɔqɔɔ́ɔlxɔɔ́ɔls: Point between North and South Bentinck Arms.
[821] *sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔlɔɔ́ɔst:* Race of dwarfs, presumably mythical.
Sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔsxɔɔ́ɔsxɔɔ́ɔm: Whirlwind, anthropomorphized.
[778] *Sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔlxɔɔ́ɔls:* Generic term for four supernatural, eagle-like creatures.
Sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔls: Place on South Bentinck Arm where curative power is localized.
sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔlxɔɔ́ɔsɔɔ́ɔl, "Bring Light": Call of invitation to a *kusiut* dance in the lower Bella Coola valley.
sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ-ɔ́ɔk: One who seeks embers.
Sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ-a: One of the first women to settle at *Tɔ́ɔl-io* in the beginning of time.
Sxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔls: Name of first settlers at *Alq̓álxel* in the beginning of time.
Sxɔɔ́ɔyɔɔ́ɔlɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ-a: Rivers Inlet name used by a Bella Coola *kusiut* woman.
[484] *xɔɔ́ɔls:* Food carried for consumption on a journey; the term is also applied to the provender brought from above by the first people in the beginning of time.
xɔɔ́ɔl'ɔɔ́ɔm: Hunting-ground owned by an ancestral family.
Xɔɔ́ɔm: Woman mentioned in a song.
xɔɔ́ɔy'": see dɔ́ɔ xɔɔ́ɔy" dɔ.
Xɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nɔ́ɔlkɔɔ́ɔ* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Xɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ-a: One of the first women to settle at *Nɔ́ɔlkɔɔ́ɔ* in the beginning of time.
[431] *xɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔjɔɔ́ɔ:* Synonym for *xɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔxɔɔ́ɔ*, the preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch.

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Sonq̓ mai: *Kusiut* name of a *Stuax* man.
Sopos: *Kusiut* name of a *Tsmoil* man.
sɔpɔlɛ̓xwum: Scalp.
sɔqwalàk̓: Gnarled projection of wood from a birch knot. [824]
Spaixpaxqmán-s: Supernatural being who wakens his fellows in the morning.
Spanàlmaix: One of the first women to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
spanɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ: Temporary camping-place.
Spatcahl, "The First Born": Name brought from Kitlobe to Kimsquit by a marriage in the beginning of time.
spàlki: Star.
spɛ̓kum, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud. [581]
spependous: The forcing upwards of water at high tide, through openings in the rocks at sea-level. [823]
spikpikmm: Person who pounds cedar-bark.
spikɛ: Tools for pounding cedar-bark, specifically the upper beater.
Spipixinan-i: Region on the east side of Dean Channel, about one mile from its head, where supernatural power is localized. [778]
Spi'xnunsta: Island west of Namu.
spkx: 1—Pudenda.
2—Variety of *smmq* with female organs. [824]
spaxàlxus: Unidentified berry. [821]
S"ɔs', Cold Wind: A supernatural being.
Spɛ̓kwusta: Meeting place of chiefs on rock ledge behind *Lɔmqɔ-ts;* the term is probably applied to any meeting place of chiefs.
spla: War-knife used by Raven in the beginning of time.
sputy: Olachen. [825]
spux: Eagle down.
spuxdjut, "Eagle Down-ness": Rhetorical reference to a present for which no return is expected. [431]
spuxpux: Long, delicate feathers on an eagle's breast. [825]
Spuxpuxhalaix: *Kusiut* name of a woman sent down near *Nusɛ̓alst* in the beginning of time.
Spuxpuxpɛ̓mpdimut: *Xɛ̓ɛ̓sk* name of *Xɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓s* origin.
Spuxspusta: *Xɛ̓ɛ̓sk* name of a Kimsquit woman.
sqàl-s: Unidentified berry. [824]
sqoolt: Alder wood, dead and dried. [825]
sqɔ̀ɛ̓ɛ̓ts: Spring salmon which have spawned.
squdi: Hunting ability. The term usually refers to the ability of the supernatural artisans to hunt, i.e., to kill, human beings.
sɛ̓alst or *sɛ̓alstut:* Stone, suitable for axes, found on Mount *Nusɛ̓alst.* The name of the mountain is said to be derived from this. [316] [103]*
squms: 1—Chest.
2—Smoke cure for diseases of the chest.
Squsil: Land of Ashes. [584]
sɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓usts: First proposal of marriage if made by relatives of the man.
sɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓: River sand mixed with small pebbles.
Sɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓k: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola River. [823]
sɛ̓ɛ̓ɛ̓m: Flood.

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[824] *xpxdilp:* Cedar roots.
xpxt: Sling.
[578] *xpxtlpxkm:* To use a sling.
xpili: Term of opprobrium applied to a woman, signifying slave ancestry.
[821] *xpimmas:* Fleecy cloud.
xpixlx: Muscle-like power which binds the mouth of a Cannibal against ordinary
[412] food.
xpxma: Wooden comb.
S'qa'i': Land of Ashes, alternative term for *Squwl.*
xpx: Umbilical hernia.
[601] *xpxlymas:* Distant relative of female sex, when referred to by man.
xpxlhixlpxt: Long phallus.
Squwil: Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
xpxxs: Unconsumed portion or share of food carried away by guests from a meal.
xpxxly: Food distributed for carrying away as *xpxxs.*
[415] *xpxls:* Large, flat, soft basket of broad strips of bark.
[431] *xlpxmxs:* Presents given by guests to the donor of a memorial potlatch.
xlxlp: Magic.
[824] *xlxm:* Sudden start that expels the spirit.
xpxpaid: Outer plank of cedar, convex and bark-covered on one side.
xpxxl: Love song or other non-ceremonial composition.
xpxxlxm: Fern, probably one of the genus *Aspidium.*
[533] *xpxxlxxlxm:* 1—Theme of a song dealing with current events, especially allusions
to the faults of someone present.
[825] 2—Singers who use this type of composition.
xpxxl-xnn: Large, unidentified bird.
[374] *Xpxlxlhxn:* Heat: A supernatural being.
Xpxli: Ironical name of a Bella Coola man.
[825] *xlxw'xn:* Loon.
[262] *xxi-xl:* Mountain goat marrow, a food which is said to have remarkable powers of
preventing hunger.
Xxxlpxlxxm, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Five Sticks": A cult name obtained in the beginning of time.
xxxlxmq; plural, xxxlxmq'; vocative plural, xxxlxmq:
1—Chief.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xlpxlxd* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Xxxd* in the beginning of time.
4—Name created by *Xxxxxm* for a grandson.
5—*Xxxxl* name of a Kimsquit man.
[601] *xxx:* Mother, term commonly used by an adult in indirect address.
[825] *xxxkhkhlxm:* Bat.
xxxlimxt: Step-mother; the term is also applied to other women of the generation
[601] older than the speaker and related to him by marriage.
xxxxxxmxs: Elderly female relatives of the same ancestral family as the speaker.
[614] *xxxk:* Whetstone.
Xxxx: Man mentioned in a story.
[412] *Xxq':* Mountain near *Tal'in.*
xxqxm, "What Is Hidden": The correct solution of the Mystery dance.
xxxxmxs: Archaic term for chiefs, now used only rhetorically.
[824] *xxix:* Cranberry.

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skaqaltkw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Sxa'xaam: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
sxaq": That part of a house on either side of the central fire. [513]
Sxixoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [585]
2—Sleep, intangible *Saxiat* prerogative.
sxixoxam: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [431]
Sxqwaxalaxwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being.
sx-pal: Shadow. [412]
sxtqoma: Hammer, *archaic*.
sxukoo: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sxumalis: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
sxiiwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
sxiy: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
sxlka: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
sxoom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sxtaxt: Caribou.
sxwa: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sxwaxila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sxwaxt or *sxwaxtaxlas*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sxwaxtaxlkxna: Body.
sxwaxtaxlaxam: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sxwaxwaxaxinaxa: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sxwaxwaxaxam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sxka: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sxkalqa: Castor.
Sxqtal, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sxuxlx: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
sxwaq: Octopus.
Sxwaxlaxlas: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
sxqwaxma: Red rock paint.
sxta: Singer's baton.
sxuit: Text. [823]
sxtc'qaaa: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
sxwix: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Sxwix: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley. [262]
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
sxwixm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
sxwixwix: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sxy', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sxwuuk: Black raspberry. [824]
sxulxw: Ocean.

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Syngmaxtax: Supernatural children guarded by the hermaphrodite in the land above.
Syuut: Name taken by a *Stuie* man in the beginning of time.
sxtsugmutl: Place in stream or river where a salmon has just jumped.
sxumntl-a: Name created upon earth. [825]
sxuqstaxit: Deer.
sxwut: Water-tight receptacle made from the internal organs of a mountain goat. [415]
Sxwukuqmutu, "What Sweeps Away the Food": First moon after the winter solstice. [805]
sxwuwuqs, "Tears": Preliminary presents given to guests at a memorial potlatch. [431]
sxw'ilamkis, "Short-lived": Rhetorical term used with reference to the death of a young chief. [195]
sxyuxwi: An adolescent girl, not yet subject to the full taboos of womanhood.

T

tahalx: Cave.
tal: 1—Son, in direct address. As a courtesy title this is often used for lads unrelated to the speaker. [601]
2—Masculine suffix.
Talalwala: 1—One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snaiv-tl* in the beginning of time.
talamuk: Desertion of husband by his wife. [586]
talin: Dorsal fin of a fish. [825]
talsing: Heavy kind of copper. [628]
talumaa: Tournament between rival villages. [101]
Tal-is: 1—Village at head of South Bentinck Arm.
2—Generic name applied to all villages on South Bentinck Arm.
Talishin-a: *Nuxgnal* name embodied in a *Snaisli* origin myth.
Tamtmale-psts, "The Breather": One of *Tlitxpilitn-a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.
Tamulua: *Stuie* man mentioned in an ancient story.
tapdamamum: The issuing abroad of invitations to a memorial potlatch. [824]
taqtu: Forest consisting of dense underbrush between big trees.
taqul: Blood-stained cedar-bark pad.
ta-s: 1—Bird arrow.
2—Weapon, invisible to mortals, with which a wolf kills its prey.
Tass; tacatiu, Tatse: 1—Designation of supreme god used in prayer. [601]
2—Father, term used by child. [824]
talkamlp: Water-lily.
Ta-pa-at: Land inhabited by the Kwakiutl.
Tashwum: Leading chief of *Atpalkal* and reputed founder of the village.
Tapplwum: Bella Coola chief living in the last century.
tatsa: Type of sea-going canoe with bow and stern identical. [825]
tawhal-i: 1—White-fronted goose. [601]
2—Type of sea-going canoe named from the bird.
tawat: Husband (*di tawatsilai:* My husband).
tawaw': River.
Tawwaatlu: Chief who came to Cape Mudge in the beginning of time and later moved to Bella Coola.

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Tsi-dis: Kitlobe River.

Tsilwakkx: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]

tsima: Animal's entrails.

tsi-t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]

tsitsowi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.

tsklusum: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]

Tsklwi: Restoration Bay.

Tsilt, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]

tsx: Novice, either *kusiut* or shaman.

tsxatmem or *tsxatalaix:* First night of a *kusiut* dance.

tskunkdmut: 1—Heavy coppers in Lomqua's house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Satlis* man in the beginning of time.

tski-kdimat: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]

tsla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.

tslaqwasix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]

tslla: Presents distributed when a *nusok* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tutwinam* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431] [465]

tsma: Belt.

tsna: Nettle. [824]

Tsnalkx: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.

tspadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]

tspeil: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]

tspotka: Winter wren.

tspuxl: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]

tsubilla: Intangible *kusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]

tsulkm: Prompter.

Tsumilkx: One of the first women to settle at *Snukdl* in the beginning of time.

Tsunalilak: One of the first men to settle at *Tsumot* in the beginning of time. [824]

tsxumtalp: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]

tutuksmg: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*

tutupdz-i: Trout, *plural.*

tutu'ze'alxulk: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.

tutxyt, "What Is Good": Synonym for *dzamamimam,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

Tutmal-as: Synonym for *Nutsilalxalkm:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

tutwinam: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *nusok* and *a'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

Twalalit: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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xoxa: Kwakiutl term for presents distributed as "Eagle down."
xota: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
xoxpanhqta: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *kusiut* dancers.
xuaxul: Spring water.
Xwaxlo: Settlement in the Carrier country.
xwe-k': Cow parsnip.
Xwelbon: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale.*
Xwinxwitxhmlaix: Shaman who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xwisamkila: Daughter of a Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
xwlxwila: Wrestling.
Xwodjw-i, "The Crash": Name taken by one of the first settlers at *Nuitaux* in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *kusiut* designation.
xwoxxwoxm: 1—Hummingbird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxul* in the beginning of time.
xwoxxwoxtsl-aix: Puppet-patron in the form of a hummingbird.
xwoxa-xts di xiut: The concluding ritual of the *kusiut* season.
xwoxaw-i: Gambling game played with crabapple sticks.
Xwoxwkmis, "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.
xwhaxmak: The desertion of her husband by a wife.

Y

Yakoths: Ancestral name of a *Stalx* man.
Ya-k"axwaxwa: Kimsquit man mentioned in an allegedly historical account.
yao: "Hello!" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
ye-: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yealos: One of the first men to settle at *Nuitqualt* in the beginning of time.
'Yeaxdji: Bella Bella man mentioned in an ancient story.
yeaxmax: 1—Prerogative, tangible or intangible, which some *kukusiut* possess in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogative formerly displayed in *xoxk* rites.
yeax: 1—Call, that is, that which impels a *kusiut* to dance.
2—*Kusiut* whistle.
Ye'mdjalaos: Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
yeotla: Term, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative.
yeya'timut: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law.
ye: Good, *adjective.*
yeki: Mountain goat.
Ye'-txlaix: Goose Island.
yekle: "All Right," cry used in a *kusiut* dance.
Yelhal-a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yelyelhuslaix: One of the first men to settle at *Alqalxul* in the beginning of time.
yelhelmem: Bringing down of a call by means of the rite of *xemadjut.*
yellelaixl: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they enter her house on the wedding day.

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844 fessional midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[846] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[825] near the room for a year (according to Nusk'ɛlu'sta, for ten days), else the salmon would take offence.

553 The child is soon given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[852] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[556] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member of the Kū'siūt, when it is given its Kū'siūt name. This ceremony takes place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young man gives his first potlatch and assumes the Qē'mtaioa name.

881 When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting posture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[292] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[821] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
[262] a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
[261] her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She must not chew gum or eat snow (see Fifth Report of Committee, 1889, p. 838).

584 If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, surrounded by his
[431] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[527] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast, during which he states that he is to be married on the following day. He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and four
[302] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing outside, and
585 four of the men dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Finally they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bridegroom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[431] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn gives her blankets and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest. A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man. At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to give him his Sisan'kH secrets as soon as the pair have their first child.
[851] The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents may choose.

586 In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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tradition of the Awī'k·'enōx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident which I heard related of the mother of Alk'untā'm.[1] He calls him "Beck-Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Pāh-Pāh Kūalanusiya." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla Ko" (Qa'nig·ilak·) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisau'k· and the kō'siut, stating that the kō'siut dances are performed during the sisau'k· in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a Lao'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisau'k· dances may be held in summer, in which case the kō'siut could not possibly form part of the sisau'k· ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisau'k· takes place during the kō'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kō'siut dances.

As stated before, the sisau'k· is a ceremonial in which the legend of the clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisau'k· of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisau'k· legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 394.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 292.